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BTA 'Announcement' on Turkey Stopping Train

AU2508192989 Sofia BTA in English
1801 GMT 25 Aug 89

["Announcement of BTA"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 25 (BTA)—As it became known, almost simultaneously with her decision to halt the arrival of Bulgarian citizens, unilaterally and contrary to all existing multilateral international agreements the Turkish side announced that as from August 25, 1989, the rail service of International Train 1293/1292 from Munich to Istanbul in Turkish territory is discontinued. This step was taken in spite of Turkey's obligation to send a preliminary notice to all European railway authorities concerned within a set time limit. The Turkish side motivated their decision by the implausible allegation that Bulgarian citizens without Turkish visas travelled on the train.

The ungrounded action taken by the Turkish side created a complicated situation in the international railway traffic in Europe and cut off an especially important railway communication line with the Middle East.

Today Mr Veselin Pavlov, director general of the Bulgarian Railways (BDZ), sent a cable to all European railway authorities advising them of Turkey's unilateral decision to close the Svilengrad-Kapikule border station to the transportation of passengers and express international parcels.

It is underlined in the cable that it is the obligation of all railway administrations to ensure maximum comfort in the transportation of passengers who have paid their railway fare and not to divide them into categories and nationalities and engage in carrying out unusual functions, such as passport control. In this connection, the leadership of the Bulgarian Railways (BDZ) states that up to date the Bulgarian side has strictly discharged their duties of carrying passengers and cargoes under the framework of international communication lines.

The European railway authorities were informed that train service No 1293/1292 will operate through the territory of Bulgaria according to the timetable approved by the General Assembly of the European Conference on Passenger Trains in Florence and that passengers and express parcels will be carried to and from the station in Svilengrad. For the time being there are no restrictions as to the passage of freight trains through this point. At the moment Train No 1293 from Munich is at the station in Svilengrad. There are 90 passengers on it—foreign citizens and one five-member Bulgarian family who have Turkish visas. Although their documents are in order, the Turkish side did not allow the train and the passengers to enter their territory.

In the meantime, in spite of the official statement made by Mr Turgut Ozal's government that the receipt of all Bulgarian citizens who have got Turkish visas would be unobstructed, some information has been received that the Turkish authorities actually limit their stay in the territory of Turkey to 15 days, after which they will be forcibly returned to Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian side once again calls upon the Turkish Government to make a real assessment of the situation and observe voluntarily the international agreements, contracts and obligations assumed in the name of humanism and civilized relations.

Details of Incident

AU2508194689 Sofia BTA in English
1912 GMT 25 Aug 89

["Barrier in Front of International Train"—BTA headline]

[Text] Svilengrad, August 25 (BTA)—The Munich-Istanbul international though train today arrived at the railway station of Svilengrad according to schedule. After the customs and border formalities were performed, Nikolay Nikolov, chief traffic controller, asked the green light to be given to the train, but the Kapikule border railway station refused to accept the train, the passage of which is coordinated by the railway authorities of several countries. The utterly unpleasant news that they cannot go on was announced to the passengers—citizens of Holland, France, Poland, Yugoslavia, Libya, China, some African countries and also of Turkey—in several languages.

All passengers, the Turkish included, expressed their resentment over the latest act of Ankara.

The employees of the railway station arranged the transportation of luggage and parcels from the mail-van, which were bound to Istanbul. Part of them are addressed to receivers in the Arab countries.

The long train, which did not get to the final station of its route through the Turkish authorities' fault, now occupies one of the lines in Svilengrad. Tomorrow, according to schedule, the train will leave the station at 0550 hrs en route to Munich.

Halting the international train is an unprecedented case in railway traffic and a gross violation of the International Convention on Passenger Transportation, said Mr Stoycho Stoev, master of the railway station.

Further Delay Reported

AU2708172989 Sofia BTA in English
1659 GMT 27 Aug 89

["Turkey Keeps Raising Obstacles"—BTA headline]

[Text] Svilengrad, August 27 (BTA)—At 10:00 hrs today the passenger train running from Dikea, Greece, to Svilengrad arrived here with two additional carriages, carrying 75 Czechoslovak and Hungarian citizens who were stranded in Turkey when it decided to stop the

service of the Munich-Istanbul-Munich train on its territory. After many hours of anxiety and waiting, the passengers had been told that they could not continue their journey because Turkey and Bulgaria were in conflict.

Owing to the closure of the Kapikule-Svilengrad railway crossing, the two carriages had to pass across neighbouring Greece.

"This gesture was made in the interest of the passengers even though they didn't have Greek visas or currency," Mr Dimitrios Serbezis, the Greek Railways agent in Svilengrad, told the BTA reporter.

The Bulgarian border services did everything possible to halve the 48-hour delay. The border control formalities and the coupling of the carriages to a shunting engine took merely 40 minutes.

"We are very grateful for this efficiency and for the understanding we have been shown," said Ms Todorka Khristkova, a nurse from Brno. "Some of us had to be at work tomorrow, and our relatives must have been concerned over the delay."

The BDZ [Bulgarian State Railway] company has made arrangements for the carriages, delayed through the fault of Turkey, to be hitched to an international express train at Sofia railway station this evening.

While Turkey is inconveniencing thousands of passengers, a special express train is moving from Munich to Istanbul. It carries Turkish workers. Tonight it will cross the Bulgaro-Turkish border which is closed to other passengers and cargoes.

Train Leaves Svilengrad

AU2608172789 Sofia BTA in English 1657 GMT 26 Aug 89

["Turkey Causes Inconveniences to Thousands of Travellers"—BTA headline]

[Text] Svilengrad, August 26 (BTA)—At 5.55 a.m. the Svilengrad-Munich international through train started from Svilengrad on its route. This change of the route of the hitherto Istanbul-Munich train has been caused as it is already known by the decision of the Turkish Government to halt the rail service of the train, which has one of the oldest routes in the history of railways. The change causes a number of inconveniences to the travellers from Europe and the other parts of the world.

The foreign passengers who boarded the train this morning entered Bulgarian territory through the Kapitan Andreevo Border Check Point situated at a 20 km distance from the station. Their transportation has been duly organized. Transport has also been provided for all who get off the Munich-Svilengrad train at 1.20 a.m. and, again through Kapitan Andreevo, continue for Turkey.

Turkey's decision causes a lot of troubles to tourists from Poland and Czechoslovakia who have remained in Turkey in two sleeping-cars. The two cars will pass from Turkish to Greek territory through the Pitcon railway station. The leadership of the Bulgarian Railways has ordered the reception of the two sleeping-cars from the border station Dikea to Svilengrad.

The route of the Polish and Czechoslovakian tourists has become about 200 kilometers longer. Till the present it is not clear how much will be their delay on their way back home.

Departing Muslims Persuaded To Turn Back

AU2608165289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Aug 89 p 2

[Text] Svilengrad, 23 August (special correspondent Nikolay Golemanov)—The most important thing today is that the people who had gathered in the staging areas have set off for their home areas. Thousands of Bulgarian Muslims who had set off for Turkey were caught by surprise en route by Ankara's decision to stop accepting them.

The only sensible decision—and one which many travelers reached only with difficulty—was to return to their homes. This decision has now been taken. One hears the news with relief, bearing in mind the large numbers of children, for whom the conditions in the staging areas are not good. Their health would be threatened if their parents hesitated too long.

Both yesterday and today many conversations with individuals and groups were needed in order to convince these people, who had recklessly staked everything on the "travel" card. The face-to-face meetings of delegations from the intermediate points with the Turkish border authorities also undoubtedly played their part.

Yesterday evening, following an improvised conference, those who had gathered near the village of Vurbovo reached the conclusion that there was nothing more to wait for. Their columns were the first to set off home.

This morning the buses, cars, and trucks from the region of Mladinovo also gradually departed. These too were organized into convoys, as pilot cars from the People's Militia had arrived from the relevant regions of the country to guide them. The departure went off calmly and with good discipline, with no difficulties.

In order to properly assess the explanatory work that facilitated this decision, one must bear in mind that many Bulgarian Muslims are at a loss to understand how it is possible for Turkey to suddenly turn them back. Perhaps, even up to now, not everyone is convinced that Ankara has really closed the border.

It seems to me that blind distrust and an obstinate refusal to accept or imagine anything whatsoever that is not directly in front of their own eyes was generally a

feature of the psychosis that gripped many of our fellow-countrymen almost 3 months ago.

They departed for Turkey, and are now returning sincerely shocked by the things that the mass media have reported and are reporting at present, such as the extreme exploitation of child labor, for example. "I did not believe the newspapers," they answer. Sometimes returnees went along the columns of people on their way to the Kapitan Andreevo Border Crossing Point and told of their experiences. Those departing did not believe them, and often shrugged off the stories with words of abuse.

The representatives of the people in the waiting areas who visited the border point yesterday were clearly notified that Turkey had stopped accepting people. For all that—and I saw them myself—they remained as much outraged as amazed by their personal contact with this fact, and by the conduct of the Turkish border officials. Yet when they went back and told their story to those waiting, the latter did not always believe them....

A large number of Bulgarian Muslims who had rushed to depart only believed the single source that no one should believe at any time concerning any issue, namely official Ankara, and they found themselves cruelly deceived. Now perhaps, in their homes or near the houses that they hastily sold, they will get their bearings, and soberly realize whom they should believe.

However, at the moment it is more important for these people to regain the trust of the others. This trust will be lacking, and it will not be easy for them to regain it, but they must do so: the trust of all those who courageously remained in their local areas, the trust of those who worked in place of those who departed.

Dzhurov Attacks Turkey's Propaganda Campaign

AU2608193789 Sofia BTA in English
1820 GMT 26 Aug 89

["Bulgaria Stands for Disarmament, Understanding, and Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 26 (BTA)—Bulgaria is a consistent and ardent champion of disarmament, understanding and cooperation between the peoples. She accepted readily the Vienna accords because she is convinced that they are in compliance with our efforts for restructuring, said today Minister of National Defence Dobri Dzhurov, Politburo member of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], at a ceremony on the conferring of first officer ranks on graduates of military schools.

In his speech he said: With her policy and constructive initiatives Bulgaria contributes considerably to the turning of the Balkans into a region of peace, into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, into an example of the development of good-neighbour relations.

We think, said Mr Dobri Dzhurov, that despite the differences on certain questions inherited from the past, the dominating common interests should have priority in the mutual relations between the Balkan countries: non-admittance of military conflict, elimination of the mass destruction weapons, mutually advantageous economic cooperation.

The Bulgarian peace-loving policy is strongly contrasted by the attempts of certain foreign circles for instigation and gross interference in the internal affairs of Bulgaria. During the recent months under the cover of a sham care for the Bulgarian citizens descendants of Islamized Bulgarians, Turkey carries out unprecedented anti-Bulgarian propaganda. In support of Turkey NATO has made an unbacked and inconsiderate declaration which does not correspond to the historical realities and is devoid of juridical base, pointed Dobri Dzhurov.

The anti-Bulgarian propaganda, the activity of extremist groups and individuals, religious fanaticism and the conservatism had made a number of Bulgarian citizens make fateful decisions. The end of the propagated illusion came with the unilateral decision of the Turkish Government to cease the reception of Bulgarian citizens who want to visit Turkey, said Minister Dzhurov.

Bulgaria has always stood and will continue to stand for good-neighbour relations but that does not mean that she will let anyone to suggest her his own ideas, to undermine the unity of the Bulgarian people, said Dobri Dzhurov.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 26 August, in reporting Dzhurov's speech at the above commissioning ceremony, does not mention any of his above remarks regarding Turkey's anti-Bulgarian campaign, but merely reports a part of the speech where he congratulated the graduating cadets and advised them of the higher qualities now required of young officers.]

Access to Turkish Diplomats Not Restricted

AU2508193489 Sofia BTA in English
1807 GMT 25 Aug 89

["Unfounded Allegations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 25 (BTA)—A spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said before a BTA correspondent that the allegation of a spokesman of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, circulated by Reuters, about some limitation of the access of Bulgarian citizens to the official representations of Turkey in Bulgaria, is not corresponding to the truth.

Unlike the number of unlawful actions and human rights violations on the side of the Turkish authorities, Bulgaria has always adhered and will continue to abide by the spirit of the Vienna accords and her international obligations, said the Bulgarian spokesman.

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Correspondents of the BTA visited the consular offices of Turkey in Sofia, Plovdiv and Burgas, where they got convinced themselves that the Bulgarian authorities do not create any obstacles to those who want to visit these representations. This has also been confirmed in talks with Bulgarian citizens who have already applied for Turkish entry visas.

Poland's Rakowski Arrives on Working Visit

LD2508133989 Warsaw PAP in English 1233 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Sofia, Aug. 25—PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] 1st Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski arrived here today for a short working visit paid at an invitation from the Bulgarian Communist Party CC.

The Polish guest was welcomed by BCP CC [Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee] Political Bureau member and Secretary Milko Balev and BCP CC Secretary Dimityr Stanishev.

Meets With Zhivkov

AU2708164689 Sofia BTA in English 1613 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Text] Varna, August 27 (BTA)—Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee [CC] of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], conferred with Mr Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [PUWP], who is visiting here at the invitation of the CC of the BCP.

The processes of renewal underway in both countries at the initiative of the BCP and the PUWP, which are intended to democratize further socialist society along the road of far-reaching political and economic reforms, were high on the agenda. The restructuring which is being carried out in the two countries puts to a test the capability of renewing socialism and of defending it, of upholding its principles and ideals, it was emphasized at the session of talks.

Mr Todor Zhivkov briefed his guest on the work of the Communists and the working people for the practical implementation of the concept on the further construction of socialism in Bulgaria. He pointed to Bulgaria's consistent efforts to strengthen and promote relations of goodneighbourliness, security and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world at large.

Mr Mieczyslaw Rakowski told about the complicated political situation that has arisen in Poland and about the efforts of the PUWP to promote the public dialogue and to achieve a broad-based national agreement for meeting the socioeconomic and political targets of socialist renewal.

The two leaders stated their unqualified support for the revolutionary restructuring which affects all spheres of life in the Soviet Union. They stressed the need for a further promotion of the all-round cooperation and of the unity and cohesion among the socialist community countries.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Mieczyslaw Rakowski expressed satisfaction with the consolidation of ties between the BCP and the PUWP and with the fruitful promotion of the all-round Bulgaro-Polish relations. They stressed the importance of the programme for the development of political, ideological and cultural cooperation between the BCP and the PUWP to the year 2000 and the concept on the promotion of economic and techno-scientific cooperation between Bulgaria and Poland to 2005, which were signed in September 1988.

Analysing the topical international issues, Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Mieczyslaw Rakowski indicated that the foremost priority is to maintain peace worldwide, to build security and mutual trust and to pursue mutually advantageous European cooperation. The two leaders stressed the importance of the idea of a common European home which is consistent with the interests of all peoples in Europe.

Moscow Mayor Addresses Sofia Party Leaders

AU2608191389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] The Bureau of the Sofia City Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the first secretaries of the municipal BCP committees had a meeting today with Lev Zaykov, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow City CPSU Committee.

The meeting was chaired by Comrade Ivan Panev. He briefed the guest on the new tasks that the Sofia party organization is solving relating to the active participation of the Communists and workers in the country's socioeconomic restructuring. Comrade Ivan Panev expressed interest in deepening the ties between the capitals of the two fraternal countries.

Lev Zaykov conveyed greetings to the Communists and workers of Sofia from Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev. He gave a detailed briefing on the wide-scale work of the CPSU in the conditions of the increasing political activity of the workers, on the results of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, and on the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which provided a powerful impetus to the processes of renewal in Soviet society for the further development of glasnost and democracy.

The Moscow City CPSU Committee is transferring the center of its organizational and ideological work to the primary party organizations, workers' collectives, and the places where people live. At the initiative of the Moscow City CPSU Committee, a discussion is now developing within the party on the role of the party and

the city party organization at its present stage of restructuring, and on the contribution of every Communist to the processes of renewal.

In conclusion, Lev Zaykov spoke in detail on the prospects for development of Moscow's economy, on its territorial-industrial branch program [words indistinct], and on the concept developed for changing over the economic activity of Moscow and all its rayons to operating on economic accountability principles. He stressed the need to seek new forms of cooperation, both at the level of the Sofia and Moscow party organizations and between the labor collectives.

More on Address

AU2608192589 Sofia BTA in English 1819 GMT 26 Aug 89

["Sofia, Moscow: Strengthening of Contacts""—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 26 (BTA)—Today was held a meeting between the Bureau of the Sofia City Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the first secretaries of the Sofia regions with Mr Lev Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the CPSU and first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU.

Mr Ivan Panev, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and first secretary of the Sofia City Committee of the party, expressed interest in the deepening of the relations between the capitals of the two countries, for studying of the experience from the work of the local party organizations in Moscow, broadening of the direct contacts between scientific and production teams.

In the course of the elections for Supreme Soviet of the USSR, said Mr Lev Zaykov, some local Moscow party organizations appeared to be unprepared for the work in the changed conditions characterized by pluralism of opinions, political dialogues. The party, the Moscow City organization should give up the command-administrative methods of leadership, should strengthen their prestige and vanguard role in society, they should influence the masses through political means and forms. At present under the initiative of the city committee of the party a discussion is carried out on the role of the party and the towns's organization in the present stage of restructuring, on the contribution of each Communist in the innovative processes.

Zaykov Leaves Sofia

AU2708194589 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Text] On 27 August Lev Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee, and first secretary of the CPSU Moscow City Committee, who visited Bulgaria at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], departed from Bulgaria.

At Sofia airport he was seen off by Ivan Panev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the BCP Sofia City Committee, and responsible BCP Central Committee associates. Viktor Sharapov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria, was also at the airport.

Pomak Unrest Allegations Termed 'Misinformation'

AU2508181389 Sofia BTA in English 1746 GMT 25 Aug 89

["Absolute Misinformation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 25 (BTA)—Information was received at the BTA from ASSOCIATED PRESS in Vienna, which, referring to unnamed sources—"diplomats in Sofia"—informs of some unrest in mid-August among the "Pomak minority" in southern Bulgaria. There are even some figures about "15 killed in clashes involving security forces".

This information is entirely untrue and it is not substantiated by any fact whatsoever. ASSOCIATED PRESS has become a victim to absolute misinformation.

Ministry Urges Acceleration of Harvesting

AU2508181489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry has completed an analysis of the work in the fields during the past week. It was stressed that it is necessary to speed up the harvesting of oriental tobacco in order to overcome the present arrears. So far 22 percent of the tomato crop has been harvested, as well as 93 percent of the peach harvest and about 4 percent of the corn crop.

Already 25,000 tonnes more plums have been collected than last year.

It is recommended that the municipal people's councils and the agricultural farms take measures to speed up the work on harvesting green peppers and field beans.

Food Industry Suffering From Tinplate Shortage

AU2608144589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Aug 89 p 2

[Commentary by Stoyanka Radeva: "At the Lowest Point"]

[Excerpts] The news coming in is increasingly alarming. The enterprises of the "Bulgarian Beer" Economic Trust are stopping or about to stop production. This is not because there is no beer; there is enough of that. However, there are no bottle caps. In the canning industry enterprises, the lines for canning tomatoes and peeled peaches are not running at full capacity, nor are the tomato puree lines fully occupied. There are no cans, and the reason for this is the lack of tinplate. It is no secret that this line of products chiefly goes for export, and the

arrears of production so far are placing at risk the main task of the "Bulgarplod" Economic Trust. Moreover, the losses from this situation cannot in any event affect only this trust!

The tinplate problem is not of recent origin. For years it has been a stumbling block for the canning industry. Whereas contracts have been signed for 25,100 tonnes for this year, including 17,979 tonnes for the first 8 months alone, up to 22 August, the "Kremikovtsi" State Company has delivered 13,484 tonnes (3-4,000 tonnes less than the amount delivered by this time during the last 4 years!). In August alone, barely 538 tonnes of the agreed 2,050 tonnes were supplied. [passage omitted]

The discussion about the reasons for the lack of tinplate is very long. I remember the joy with which we waited for the tinplate production lines to enter service in the "Kremikovtsi" Metallurgical Combine, now a state company. Foreign currency would be saved, and also many headaches—it is quite different when you hold the solution to a problem in your own hands. However, this joy proved to be illusory. These may be strong words, but it seems that this work appeared to be beyond the powers of the Kremikovtsi metalworkers. Whereas at one time it was the custom to orient production toward quantity, the adaptation toward high quality was far below what was desired, with all the problems arising from this for the quality of Bulgarian canned goods and their good name for the foreign consumer. (It is no secret that during a single month, 150 tonnes of tinplate were officially condemned at the "Pobeda" Metal Packaging Factory in Sofia because of perforations.) Yes, the workers at Kremikovtsi probably have their problems too, and no small ones at that. Yet all this is hardly a good reason merely to turn one's back and ignore the requirements of our canning industry. [passage omitted]

Decrease of Birth Rate in Villages Analyzed

AU2708131589 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No 34, 23 Aug 89 p 4

[Valentina Stoeva article: "I Love the Smell of Hay"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The population of Bulgarian villages is decreasing. In 1987, their birth rate reached the record low of 11.6 births per 1,000 people. One of the explanations is that the population capable of active work, is leaving the villages.

Because of the low birth rate and high mortality in the villages there is no natural growth. In 1987, the village population decreased 6.6 per 1,000 persons. This number doubled in comparison with 1980. Unfortunately, this trend will continue in future years.

Why is the Bulgarian peasant leaving his spacious home and going to the city, where he encounters the housing crisis and indeed artificially strengthens it? According to the "City and Village—1986" empirical sociological study, people with the lowest monthly wage come mostly from the ranks of unqualified agricultural workers. Some 20 percent of them receive 41 to 60 leva per month, and 52.74 percent—between 60 and 120 leva per month. If we look at the migration charts included in the same study, and use the level of education as a standard, we can conclude that the villages and small settlements are losing their most educated and highly qualified people. The largest part of the people who have migrated, is comprised of those with a high school education, who have moved to Sofia and the major cities, followed by persons with semi-higher and higher education.

The period when the idea of closing the village schools and concentrating them in larger settlements was launched, coincides with the stage at which our industry had a (real or imagined) need of labor. The village family, doomed to low incomes, facing the conflict between higher education and low labor contents, and deprived of school for the children, had no other choice but to leave the spacious village home and head for the city, where there was work, school for the children, and better living conditions, albeit in a narrow and overpopulated dwelling. (Village dwellings significantly lag behind those of the city, especially Sofia, in anything related to urbanization. Some 37.19 percent of the dwellings in the non-okrug cities and 81 percent of the dwellings in the villages, in which 60 percent of our population lives, are not connected to the canalization system. A half of the village dwellings do not have bathrooms, one quarter of them have no toilets, 31.64 percent do not have running water, 21.3 percent have a tap in the yard, while 6 percent get their water from wells.) [passage omitted]

Panel Views Drop in Private Farm Production

AU2608200289 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 24 Aug 89 p 1

[Anton Cheshmedzhiev report: "Different Approach Needed"]

[Text] The results achieved during the first 6 months of the year do not guarantee fulfillment of the state tasks and the norms for consumption—this was the main conclusion reached at the session of the Commission on Meeting Needs From Own Resources held on 23 August. The meeting discussed measures to ensure that this year's plan is achieved, as well as the development of next year's programs. Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, took part in the commission's work.

The session of the commission, which was chaired by its chairman Georgi Menov, minister of agriculture and forestry, examined a number of important processes and trends, many of which are unfortunately old, very well-known, but still unsolved problems. One can hardly be delighted, for example, by the comparison with what was achieved during the same period last year.

—The consumption of spring fruits and early tomatoes has increased. Although no general data are available for vegetables, according to the information reviewed

the market received sufficient supplies of onions, garlic, early potatoes, lettuces, and other products.

—At the same time, however, consumption of meat and eggs stayed at the same levels, while milk consumption fell by 2 percent. Khaskovo Oblast recorded a decline of 25 liters, and Plovdiv Oblast a decline of 16 liters.

Three basic reasons were pointed out for the failure in ensuring enough products for consumption: Not a single oblast reported a rise in milk production as compared with last year, the decline for the whole country being 3.9 percent; the continuing decline in the numbers of farm animals continued to have a negative effect; and problems continue to be created by the existing system of organizing purchasing, which places most of the difficulties on the backs of the producers.

In addition to all this, one must add the failure to fulfill a number of obligations to the farmers, which prevents them from fully utilizing the reserves of the private farms. The population did not receive 11.3 percent of the planned amounts of nitrogenous fertilizers, 20.9 percent of phosphorous fertilizers, and 30 percent of potassium fertilizers. The supply of copper sulfate was inadequate. The quality of the small agricultural tools offered by the trading network is not satisfactory, and only a small proportion of the 4,000 mechanized cultivators planned were actually supplied. The specialized stores, with the exception of those in Botevgrad, offer poor selection of goods.

Particular attention was paid to the problem of ensuring the increased supply of young pigs to the population. It was stressed that this is required not only in order to meet normal meat requirements, but also to compensate for the reduced possibilities for beef, mutton, and lamb production. Hence, arises the need to involve the population on a mass scale in the rearing of sows and pigs for fattening. It is no secret that several years ago, the private and ancillary smallholdings had 120,000 pigs, but this figure has now fallen to around 50,000, due to which we have annual shortages of 400-600,000 piglets. Will our plans be able to be fulfilled in this situation? It is left for us to hope that the measures specified by the commission will prove sufficiently effective to ensure that next year 2,200,000 young pigs are supplied for the population's needs. A number of proposals were made concerning the development of private smallholdings:

—More land should be handed over to individual smallholdings in order that they can produce themselves the animal feed they need. It is pointed out that, following the issue of the recent normative documents (which provide many possibilities in this connection), the amount of land for private use has increased barely by 8-9 percent....

—Work should be speeded on creating specialized transport for the purchase of products from private smallholdings.

—The purchasing organizations should draft special measures to ensure the purchase and utilization of extra products not planned for, but nevertheless produced by the private and ancillary farms.

General dissatisfaction was expressed with the fact that the fulfillment of the tasks relating to meeting needs from one's own resources remains trapped in the vicious circle of the old problems. In his speech, Georgi Yordanov also stressed the need for a new approach and a new organization for resolving these exceptionally important issues.

Editorial Urges Action on Ecological Issues

AU2808131989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Aug 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Urgent Action"]

[Excerpts] Until recently we lightheartedly assumed that the world's ecological worries would pass us by and that the undoubted advantages of our more just social system would automatically preserve us against the negative processes accompanying the development of industrialized countries. Nevertheless, the facts of life have brought us back to earth. They even sharpened our senses for everything that disrupts the harmony of our environment. This is understandable, as a result of the fact that half of our country is breathing air in which harmful substances exceed the tolerable norms, and among all 15 basic rivers in our country only the Veleka River is still free of pollution, not to mention the millions of tons of cement dust, heavy metals, and other unbearably harmful substances that we are forcing upon our native soil.

Statistics provide an increasing number of alarming data in this respect. [passage omitted]

I would just like to mention that within the first 3 years of our current 5-year plan period the state budget allocated a total of 625,785,000 leva for the construction of ecological installations, while only 464,792,000 leva, namely barely 74.3 percent of this amount, were actually used. The nearly 160 million leva that were not utilized would be enough to build 20-25 new water purification installations. Only half of existing waste waters are being treated in our country today.

The 1989 plans of the municipal and economic organizations in our country include a total of 402 ecological projects. This includes 17 urban water purifying stations and 64 installations for the purification of industrial waste waters, 42 of which are expected to be commissioned in the near future. Nevertheless, only 31 percent of the funds envisaged for this purpose were used during the first half of 1989. This rate by no means guarantees the implementation of the annual program. [passage omitted]

/The "Energetika," "Metallurgy and Mineral Raw Materials," "Biotechnological and Chemical Industry" associations and the Ministry of Transportation are among the main contributors to air pollution. [passage omitted]

It is required today that the municipalities, oblasts, and associations should thoroughly inspect each project and map out efficient measures, as well as adopt real actions for the timely construction and commissioning of ecological installations—and this is the most important requirement. [passage omitted]

Such actions presuppose a broad public glasnost about the causes of the damage affecting our environment and about the culprits. The most severe and uncompromising measures should be adopted against those who neglected the ecological requirements over many years and lightheartedly paid their fines for the pollution they caused with amounts of money they took from the joint funds of the collectives, thus paying ransom for their own inactivity. We can no longer afford to accept any excuses and explanations of administrative leaders and managers for their failure to protect the environment. As a matter of fact, the struggle to restore the ecological balance is a struggle for the survival of the individual and of mankind. This is the meaning of the forthcoming, high level ecological forum which our country is expected to host this autumn.

Ruse Changes to Pollution-Free Natural Gas

AU2608165689 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 24 Aug 89 p 3

[Mikhail Keremidchiev report: "Ruse Says Farewell to the Soot"]

[Text] With appropriate ceremony, the methane gas was ignited near the first gas distribution station completed in Ruse. It was part of the first of the blue fuel delivered along the Soviet gas pipeline now in operation. The second gas distribution station will also enter service during the next few days.

By the end of the year, the coal- and fuel-oil-fired boilers of the Ruse West and Ruse East Thermoelectric Power Plants will start operating on natural gas, as well as the local steam boiler installations of a number of enterprises in the city's western and eastern industrial zones.

"The gas pipeline to Ruse is the main element in the measures planned to improve the natural environment in Ruse," Engineer Kiril Dochev, the authorized representative of the Council of Ministers, pointed out. "After the second and third stations are completed, which will be done before the end of 1990, and the consumers are connected as planned, there will be no further need to use thousands of tonnes of coal and heavy fuel oil for firing the boilers, and the city will be freed from the dust, soot, and sulfur dioxide they produce."

Friendship Fair With SFRY Held in Vidin

AU2608134089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] The traditional fair of Bulgarian-Yugoslav friendship was held in Vidin today. It was attended by representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and guests from Belgrade, Zajecar, Mikhaylovgrad, and elsewhere.

In his speech Avram Ganchev, chairman of the Commission for Trade, Services, and Social Activities under the Vidin Municipal People's Council, emphasized that Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are linked and united by many things, and that many have contributed toward the good-neighborly relations between the two socialist countries and their peoples and are striving toward peace, progress, and understanding in the Balkans.

Syrian Industry Minister Arrives, Opens Talks

AU2508181189 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Antoine Jubran, minister of industry of Syria, has arrived in Bulgaria.

At the talks that started this afternoon in the Biotechnological and Chemical Industry Association, the possibilities are being examined for expanding the cooperation in the biotechnological, chemical, and food industries, in the production of plant protections agents, and in other fields of mutual interest.

Vorotnikov Speaks at Slovak Uprising Rally

LD2608193389 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1337 GMT 26 Aug 89

["Text" of speech by Vitaliy Vorotnikov, head of a USSR delegation, at rally marking 45th anniversary of Slovak National Uprising in Banska Bystrica on 26 August; Vorotnikov speaks in Russian with superimposed Slovak translation—live]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Milos Jakes, esteemed Comrade Gustav Husak, esteemed Comrade Ignac Janak, dear Czechoslvoak friends, comrades.

Forty-five years ago the banner of the armed struggle of the Czechoslovak nation for freedom and independence of their homeland was raised here in the heart of Slovakia. Gathered at this meeting are both the direct participants in the uprising, war veterans, heros of labor, and children and grandchildren of those who courageously fought fascism with arms in their hands.

I would like to offer to all of you, on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet Government, as well as on behalf of the entire Soviet nation, sincere congratulations on this festive day.

Comrades, the Slovak National Uprising was one of the most important expressions of anti-fascist resistance during World War II. A direct manifestation of that war was the international character of that movement. Events during those terrible days, when our brotherhood in arms grew and gained in strength in the merciless fightings against the Hitlerite occupiers, will never vanish from the memory of our thankful descendants. The troops of the 1st and 4th Ukrainian Front moved to help insurgent Slovakia. Soviet soldiers went into action against the enemy with the slogan, Forward to help our brothers, the Slovaks. Fighting alongside our Soviet soldiers and entering Slovak territory with them were the liberators of their own homeland—soldiers and officers of the I Czechoslovak Army Corps, headed by the important leader and Czechoslovak patriot, Ludvik Svoboda. [Applause]

The heroic Slovak National Uprising played an historic role in the destiny of your country. Out of it, the national democratic revolution began, which soon manifested itself in the rising of the Czech nation in May 1945, and which grew into the socialist revolution of February 1948.

It was the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its leading officials, such as Klement Gottwald, Karol Smidtke, Gustav Husak, Ladislav Novomesky, Jan Sverma, and others, which took upon itself to organize the struggle for national and social liberation, the preparation and the carrying out of the uprising. [Applause] The Slovak National Uprising was an important stage on the road to victory over Hitlerite fascism, which was one of the important preconditions of revolutionary change in a number of countries, and the emergence of the socialist system.

At present we are entering a period of renewal in the world of socialism. Profound reforms are being carried out in the Soviet Union and other countries in the sphere of politics, economy, social life, and the like. We are strenously seeking ways of developing as fully as possible the potential of socialism and giving rebirth to its Leninist substance within the framework of the current conditions. In this process the content, form, and pace of restructuring, or the improvement of socialism depends on the national peculiarities of each country.

It is obvious that all that is new does not have an easy birth and this process requires a great deal of effort, adherence to principles and flexibility. The process of restructuring has made a profound impact on all areas of life in Soviet society and has enabled us to mobilize new reserves of creativity. Those who would like to assess restructuring merely in terms of the difficulties and problems that are cropping up along its path are naturally mistaken.

I must say with satisfaction that the processes of restructuring and democratization in the Soviet Union and in Czechoslovakia are accompanied by this innovation and by an unshakeable recognition of socialist values. This creates suitable conditions for the intensification of mutual relations between our fraternal parties and countries. In the Soviet Union we highly regard the sincerity, openness, and businesslike character of Soviet-Czechoslovak relations. The results of regular meetings between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Milos Jakes openly illustrate the harmony existing in the orientaton of our parties and nations. They open up new perspectives and provide further impulses for the all-around intensification of mutual Czechoslovak-Soviet relations.

Within the framework of our countries cooperation, the exchange of experiences in the social, political, and ideological spheres is developing actively. Friendly relations between districts and regions, and between towns in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are assuming a new content. Enrichment has occurred in the sphere of cultural and scientific cooperation. Contacts among people have intensified markedly. This is all having a positive impact on the development of our friendship.

Comrades, our endeavour aimed at the demilitarization, democratization, and humanization of international relations is a direct continuation of restructuring. The USSR Congress of people's deputies legislatively reinforced the foundations and principles of Soviet foreign policy in line with the new political thinking, and under the supervision of the people. By doing this we created a guarantee both for ourselves, our allies, and all those with whom we are in contact on the international arena,

to the effect that the course of our foreign policy will be predictable, clear cut, and oriented toward peace and cooperation.

The Soviet Union, along with its Warsaw Pact allies, is persistently acting to strengthen security and reduce military tension in Europe and the world, to reduce arms, and for disarmament. We have already achieved the first important steps along this road. The successess of new political approaches to solving international issues are manifesting themselves, especially on the continent of Europe. The results of the meeting in Vienna have raised the Helsinki process onto a qualitatively higher level. Rich possibilities have been created for the development of all-European cooperation in all spheres, in the sense of the existing territorial political reality on this continent.

Of course, Comrades, if we assess the situation objectively, then we cannot fail to see that the peace process has not yet required an irreversible character. It has still not reached that point whereby the force of inertia is achieved in the positive sense of this word. The threat—and not a negligible one—still exists. We have not by and large yet overcome the psychology of confrontation, or dismantled its material base. The contribution by your country, the CSSR, toward strengthening security in Europe and supporting cooperation in Europe, has achieved significant international recognition. We hold in high esteem the approach, full of initiative, by Czechoslovakia toward the implementation of a joint course by the fraternal socialist countries on the international forum as well as our close cooperation in the sphere of foreign policy. Its significance has particularly increased these days when the value of politically securing national security in the world has increased.

The Soviet people sincerely rejoice that Czechoslovakia has achieved, in the period of building socialism, significant successes in all sphere of life—in economy and culture, as in raising the living standards of workers.

Also, the changes here in Slovakia are substantial and obvious.

A former agricultural country became a socialist republic, with all rights, modern industry, highly developed and productive agriculture, progressive science, and culture. The Soviet people share your pride in the results achieved and sincerely wish you even more of them. [applause] We appreciated the warm words addressed here to the CPSU, the Soviet people, and its armed forces. The Soviet Communists and all Soviet people feel equally sincere and deep feelings toward their Czechoslovak friends. Also in the future we are going to strengthen our all-around mutual contacts, our friendship, and patiently and persistently fight for peace. Long live eternal friendship between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia! [applause, cheering long live the Soviet Union] Let cooperation between our communist parties develop and strengthen! Long live peace, throughout the world! Thank you. [applause, cheering long live]

Commentary Views Situations in Poland, Hungary

LD2708144489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0730 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Pavel Kopecky commentary]

[Text] We have already become used to the fact that during the last few months socialist countries are being talked about, either individually or as a community. It is understandable that we are most interested in what is happening in our neighboring friendly states to whom we are linked by longstanding allied, as well as economic, relations. This is especially so if, as is the case of Poland and Hungary, we witness hasty and often surprising development which is full of contradictions and phenomena not previously existing in the practice of building socialism and relations between allied countries.

This is also reflected in the mixed feelings with which we receive the events in Poland and Hungary—be it, for example an unprecedented election of a former opposition representative as the Polish prime minister; or the interference of representatives of Hungarian so-called independent groups and supporters of the Polish Solidarity in internal affairs of Czechoslovakia, as occurred in Prague on 21 August; or when some dailies of both these countries continued interfering during all of last week. It is good that realistic forces as well as official voices in Hungary and Poland condemned these attempts to interfere in internal affairs of their neighbors and allies because it is not possible to successfully build neighborly, friendly relations on any basis other than a legal one.

A lot of emotions, speculations, as well as hasty conclusions arose with the Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a solidarity leader and the person who embodies the views of the hiearchy of the Polish Catholic Church, as the premier of the People's Republic of Poland. Mazowiecki is the fourth Polish premier of the last year. It is a great sensational event for Western press, on the basis of which they construct plans of a gradual evolution of Poland towards a capitalist social system.

For us in socialist countries, it is an unusual thing, and its exhaustive assessment is not easy, and necessarily requires some time. To begin with, it is necessary to mention that the development in Poland has tended towards this result since the moment when the Polish leadership put forward the idea of national understanding which gradually assumed a specific form during Round Table talks. Their subsequent course and results led to de facto official recognitions of the Solidarity Trade Union and the creation of a certain partnership between this movement and the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. Already, then, this fact was described as a marriage of convenience. The two organizations were aware that one without the other was unable to lead Poland out of the lasting crisis. The elections of the Sejm and Senate and president as well as protracted attempts to form the grand coalition government testified to how

difficult this alliance is. And the alliance is being tested every day by the hard reality of economic problems of the country and social uncertainty of Polish workers.

From this point of view, it is irrelevant who is the Polish premier because is will not change at all the fact that the imperative for the whole nation is to lead Poland out of the economic crisis. All groups' interests, political ambitions, maneuvers, as well as unrealistic promises have to be put aside. The new Polish Government can achieve results expected by the Poles only if it is going to cooperate in a constructive way with the PZPR and if it gives specific content to the statement on this cooperation. Threats of hunting the communists and organizing a funeral ceremony for the PZPR—which can be sometimes heard from certain extremist offsprings of solidarity—are the way toward a severe confrontation which would entirely preclude leading Poland out of the crisis. It is possible to hope that the new Polish premier, and the cabinet he is going to form, will bear in mind that without a creative and constructive relationship with the biggest party—the PZPR with more that 2 million members which is also up to now the only one with a real program of how to get out of the crisis and embark on future development of Poland—it is not possible to engage in realistic government policy and satisfy the expectation of millions of Poles.

We in Czechoslovakia, as well as in other socialist countries, heard with satisfaction the statement of the Premier Mazowiecki that Poland would respect the obligations of an ally arising from its membeship in the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. His words are realistic, resonable, and at the same time binding to him. The more so because Lech Walesa, to whom Premier Mazowiecki is very close, said that nobody has yet accomplished the way from socialism to capitalism and that is exactly what they want to do in Poland.

I would not like to speculate what would happen if.... Everybody who assesses realistically present international relations and the balance of forces between the East and West, the delicate balance within Europe, will certainly come to conclusions regarding the consequences of such a step.

Unfortunately, voices similar to Walesa's are also heard from neighboring Hungary. For example the Hungarian youth organization Democratic Federation of Hungarian Youth [FIDESZ] members of which put on a peculiar, or better to say provocative, show in Prague on the occasion of the anniversary of the August events—includes in its program Hungary's opting out of the organizations of socialist countries: the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. This, together with the demand that the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party surrenders part of its possessions in favor of other political parties—which is put forward by some forces participating in three-sided talks of the Hungarian Round Table—hint at the fact that some people in Hungary and Poland are far from being interested in improving socialism or implementing reforms of political and economic character, as they are interested in something totally different.

Yuriy Gremitskikh, spokesman of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at the 24 August news conference in Moscow, warned the West about the situation in the Baltic republics, saying that to destabilize the Soviet multinational boat means at the same time to destabilize the boat of all of Europe and the world.

I think that a similar parallel is fully appropriate as far as the developments in Hungary and Poland are concerned—and in fact regarding the entire socialist community. There is a need to say to Walesa and those speaking in a similar way in Hungary that whoever puts in danger the character of socialist development in individual countries, puts in danger the whole community and above all peace and security in Europe and in the world.

The unified attitude of socialist countries towards the key questions of the present world, deepening mutual cooperation and its all-around development are important preconditions of the success of building socialism in every individual socialist country and the whole socialist camp as well as of the growth of international prestige of socialism—as Milos Jakes also said at yesterday's rally in Banska Bystrica on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising.

I take the view that these principles are even more topical in the present complicated period of restructuring and reforms in socialist countries.

Prague Criticizes Hungarian Coverage of Rally

LD2708205189 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Text] Last night, a group protesting in front of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest was joined by more people numbering in the hundreds demanding the release of Deutsch and Kerenyi, the two rioters from Wenceslas Square. The crowd dispersed after an hour. In the protest, which they described as being stated exclusively in solidarity with the two men detained, they did not avoid sharp attacks against Czechoslovakia and against socialism and communism in general.

Hungary's media however did not talk about the reason for their detention thereby causing the anti-Czechoslovak sentiments only to increase. As an example one can point to the front page of the weekly KEPES HET, with empty spaces bearing the following message: The front page is witheld because our reporter has been detained in Prague. It did not matter to the weekly that almost all dailies and weeklies carried photos and there was therefore much to be selected from.

Hungarian television in its main television newscast gave prominence to the two men detained and quoted in this connection relevant passages from the speeches

made by Comrades Jakes and Janak at a festive meeting in Banska Bystrica. The report did not find the room to recall in a single sentence that in Banska Bystrica Czechosklovakia marked the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising.

At the request of MTI, the Hungarian press agency, a representative of the Czechoslovak Embassy gave an interview in which he spoke about his agreement with the view expressed by the Hungarian Foreign Ministry on the participation of his country's citizens at the demonstration in Prague and about threatening telephone calls to Czechoslovak authorities, threatening bomb attacks on Czechoslovak installations, and about letters both agreeing and disagreeing with the action taken by the Czechoslovak authorities, which MTI has failed to publish, despite promising to do so while reporting, on the other hand, provocative anti-Czechoslovak actions.

These realities are also making the work of Czechoslovak journalists more difficult and Czechoslovak tourists are feeling it as well.

Release of Arrested Hungarians Demanded

LD2608193589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] About 500 people held a demonstration early this evening in front of the Czechoslovak Embassy building in Budapest. Our resident correspondent in Hungary, Tomas Borec, phoned this report:

[Borec] The members of the opposition youth organization who have been staging a sit-in since Tuesday in front of our embassy building calling for the release of two Hungarian citizens detained for serious violations of public order in Prague were joined early this evening by about 500 people. They carried flags with the logos of opposition organizations, and chanted calls for the release of Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi.

The presence of Hungarian Television cameras shows that this was another event in the anti-Czechoslovak campaign which has been organized all this week by the opposition with substantial support from the press, radio, and television. Yesterday, at the request of the Hungarian news agency MTI, a member of the Czechoslovak mission gave an interview expressing approval of the standpoint adopted by the Hungarian minister of foreign affairs on the participation of citizens of his country in Monday's demonstration in Prague, and commenting also on the fact that our offices in Budapest are receiving telephone calls threatening bomb attacks against Czechoslovak buildings there. The MTI news agency, despite its promises, did not publish this interview, but carried extensive reports about the provocative actions in front of the Czechoslovak Embassy building in Budapest.

Comparison of CTK Report on 21 Aug Protest

AU2308101589

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 22 August on page 2 carries a 200-word CTK report entitled "Attempt To Disrupt Public Order." Comparison with the item headlined "Poles, Hungarians, Italians Detained," published in the 22 August edition of the East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 11, column one, shows the two versions to be identical, except for the following variations:

Only paragraph, sentences one and two read: ...in Prague late afternoon yesterday. Under the pretext...(changing date information)

Sentence four reads: ...Italian Radical Party, Sergio Stanceri, and the antisocialist...(supplying queried name)

Sentences seven and eight read: ...to the city, who condemned the disruption of peace. The forces of...(supplying additional clause).

Comparison on 'Antisocialist' Protest in Prague

AU2308101889

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 22 August on page 1 carries a 250-word "pz, wt"-signed correspondents' report entitled "Provocation in the Center of Prague." Comparison with the item headlined "Prague on 'Antisocialist' Protests," published in the 22 August edition of the East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 11, column one reveals the following variations:

Column one, paragraph one, beginning of item to sentence two reads: [Text] Shortly after 1700 on Monday [21 August], a group of Hungarian "tourist" unfurled a banner in the lower section of Wenceslas Square, inscribed with "We Have Come With Flowers and Not With Tanks." This was the...(supplying opening sentence per RUDE PRAVO version)

Column Two, first paragraph, first sentence reads: Officials of the Municipal District National Committee in Prague-1 informed the participants...(supplying words "district," figure "1")

Same paragraph, last sentence to second paragraph, only sentence reads: ...order enforcement unit.

Members of the Public Security Corps escorted the most active provocateurs, among whom were also several Poles, Hungarians, and Italians, to the local police state.

During the evening...(supplying additional sentence)

The RUDE PRAVO item ends at paragraph three, only sentence: ...them once again....(deleting last two paragraphs)

GDR Article on 21 August 1968 Cited

AU2208102789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Aug 89 p 7

[CTK report headline—"NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Article"]

[Text] NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, the press organ of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee, published on Friday [18 August] an article entitled "Our Alliance With the CSSR and 21 August 1968."

At the end of the 1960's, the newspaper writes, an extremely tense international situation had arisen in which every disturbance of the strategic military balance was bound to bring about the greatest dangers to peace. In this situation, the Warsaw Pact states were pursuing a policy of consolidating peace, security, and cooperation in Europe which, in the following period, finally led to the Helsinki Final Act. They supported the laying down, in a form binding under international law, of the status quo that had come about as a result of World War II and postwar developments. This policy met with stubborn resistance from those NATO circles that did not want to acknowledge the new facts, wanted to break up our defense alliance and roll back socialism in the style of Adenauer and Dulles.

In 1968, the CSSR appeared to the enemies of socialism to be the appropriate bridgehead for this. The internal political situation had worsened dramatically after the then party leaders, due to political heterogeneity and disunity, had proved themselves incapable of implementing the decisions made by the Central Committee at the beginning of the year for the solution of long-overdue problems. They were not able, as our Czechoslovak fraternal party assesses it today, to guide the increased social commitment of large sections of the people into the right channels to overcome mistakes and inadequacies. The unity of the party was weakened, and it was increasingly losing its leading role and its ability to act. The activities of rightwing and ever bolder antisocialist forces were increasing accordingly. The socialist state of the Czechs and Slovaks was running into grave danger.

Imperialist forces of various hues, primarily from the United States and the FRG, were trying to aggravate the crisis in any way possible. The main targets of the attacks by Western politicans and propagandists were the constitutional bases of the socialist CSSR and the country's alliance with the fraternal states and particularly its incorporation in the socialist defense alliance. Some NATO states went over to direct and large-scale interference in the internal affairs of the CSSR, so that as a result of the combined effect of antisocialist forces from both without and within serious threats arose to socialism and the peace of our continent.

The newspaper goes on to say that, once all other means of stopping the disastrous development had been exhausted, the internationalist help provided by the fraternal socialist countries on 21 August 1968 proved to be the only way out. Thus, imperialist interference in the internal affairs of a socialist state was prevented and stability on the dividing line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO was ensured. Through this joint action socialism was protected and a change in the political and military balance of power to the advantage of imperialism was prevented. That was of great importance for peace in Europe.

At that time, we stood in firm internationalist solidarity at the side of our Czechoslovak comrades and friends, who courageously and steadfastly defended their socialist fatherland. And at our eighth party congress, we supported the stance comprehensively set out by our fraternal party in 1970 in "Lessons From the Critical Developments in the Party and Society in the Wake of the 13th CPCZ Congress." The CPCZ's view at that time and the conclusions it drew, in our opinion, still are relevant today. They disprove all attempts at subsequent "reassessment" of the international assistance given the CSSR because they are detached from the concrete circumstances of the universal class struggle in 1968. Unhistorical approaches of this type must be rejected just as firmly as all attempts by antiprogressive persons to destablize the position in the CSSR once again. The CPCZ's position, therefore, has our total internationalist support.

The most important thing is that the CPCZ has acted in accordance with the lessons learned; that having overcome the crisis and its results the CSSR has developed into a stable, modern socialist state; and that the people in our fraternal socialist country to the south can enjoy the fruits of the hard joint labor in peace; that the CSSR currently is making an internationally respected contribution to peace, disarmament, and cooperation on our continent.

In conclusion the article recalls the recent meeting between Erich Honecker and Milos Jakes in Prague, which made it once again clear that the GDR and CSSR are solving jointly tasks in politics, the economy, ideology, culture, and all other areas with a clear socialist perspective.

CPCZ Presidium Report on 1968 Events

AU2108110689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Aug 89 p 1

["Report From a Session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee"]

[Text] At its session on Friday [18 August], the Presidium of the Central Committee Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] examined the social and political situation and an informative report on aktivs and meetings of party members, organizations of the National Front and national committees, which expressed appreciation of the increasing preparations for the 18th congress, and the activity at the start of the period of the annual members meetings and conferences of the party and in fulfilling national economic plans and

carrying out tasks connected with social restructuring. It noted that the participants in the aktivs and meetings have been voicing full support for the CPCZ policy and have been expressing the resolve to carry our the program for restructuring and democratizing society set out by the party.

At the aktivs as well as in numerous letters from party organizations, working collectives, and individuals reaching the Party Central Committee concern has been expressed at attempts by antisocialist forces to destabilize our state and demanding energetic measures in the interest of order and calm to permit creative work for the benefit of the republic.

In connection with the forthcoming anniversary of 21 August 1968, various efforts and views are emerging in our country and abroad endeavoring, so to speak, to reappraise the events of that time. The Party Central Committee Presidium stressed that the period of social and political crisis in the period 1968-69 and the events connected with that period had been examined and assessed in detail at the 14th Congress in 1971 using all the available facts. Each period has to be assessed in its historical internal and external political context. Our country's perspectives are rightly linked with the creative activity of social restructuring and democratization. The Czechoslovak public at the same time follows with interest the changes taking place in individual socialist countries. It identifies itself with developments aimed at strengthening socialism and reinforcing mutual relations on the basis of the new quality of internationalism by applying the new political thinking in international relations.

The Central Committee Presidium at the same time voiced full support for the CSSR Government statement [of 17 August] and voiced the conviction that the appeal for calm and order will receive the support of all party members and other citizens.

The Central Committee Presidium acquainted itself with the standpoint adopted by the Political Executive Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party on 15 August this year in connection with the anniversary of the Czechoslovak events of 1968. It noted that the standpoint did not show sufficient appreciation of the internal and external political contexts of the 1968 developments and that it objectively helps the forces which act against socialism and the processes of restructuring in Czechoslovakia. At the same time the Presidium stressed its interest in the active development of mutual cooperation between the people of the Hungarian People's Republic and the CSSR and between the CPCZ and the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

The CPCZ Central Committee Predisium also discussed preparations for the celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising and considered the draft of the speech to be delivered by Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, at a festive demonstration to be held in Banska Bystrica on 26 August.

It discussed a report on the development of the membership base of the CPCZ during the past year and in the period since the 17th Congress. It noted that in guiding the development and the shaping of party ranks after the 17th CPCZ Congress, party bodies and organizations proceeded, in particular, from the conclusions of the third session of the CPCZ Central Committee, which they specified into their own procedures. They paid attention to attaining greater effectiveness in party work, galvanizing all communists and strengthening the capacity to act. The stress had been put on the promotion of qualitative viewpoints in the selection, education, and accepting of new members and candidate members of the party, and on strengthening the class character of the party and developing its vanguard role in implementing the party line. The gradual implementation of the adopted conclusions and the attention which party bodies and organizations devoted to problems of party work and of improving the membership base have produced some positive results. Effective 1 January 1989 the party had 1,721,085 members and candidate members. Since the 17th Congress the party has increased by more than 46,000 members and candidate members.

The Presidium stressed that at the present time it is necessary to devote the main attention to galvanizing the membership base and to the increased militancy of communists.

It also took note of the plan now being prepared by the government to create conditions for the transition to a single rate of exchange and convertibility of the Czechoslovak koruna, in accordance with the resolution of the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee on the comprehensive restructuring of the CSSR economic mechanism. It stressed that the effort aimed at the convertibility of the koruna was beginning in manufacturing through increased effectiveness, economy, and cost-effectiveness in all sectors.

The Central Commitee Presidium examined experiences in the application of the principles governing the awarding of state distinctions for political, public, economic, cultural, scientific, and other activity, adopted 19 years ago, and endorsed their amendment. The principles make it possible to increase the role and responsibility of the lower-level party bodies and organziations. They respect their responsibility for the territory on which they are active. The powers of the governments, of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, and of the Czech and Slovak National Councils in approving state awards are also being enhanced.

The Predisium took note of the adjustment of the system of prizes being awarded in the CSSR for scientific, technical, artistic, journalistic, and other activity. At the heart of the system of these prizes are prizes awarded by the CSSR president, and the Czech and Slovak National

Councils, the Central Trade Union Council, and by other institutions, such as the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, the Slovak Academy of Sciences, the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee, national committees, the art unions, and the like.

It took note of a report on securing an efficient process of renewal of the printing industry. The concept drawn up by the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic Governments provides for a number of measures aimed at renewing and modernizing the production base of the printing industry.

Husak, Jaruzelski Hold Talks on Relations

LD2608080489 Prague CTK in English 0658 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 26 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak and Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski have held telephone talks on topical issues concerning Polish development and Czechoslovak-Polish relations.

President Husak voiced solidarity with the effort of the Polish president, state, the United Workers' Party and other political forces to solve urgent problems the Polish society faces at present. The two presidents voiced the conviction that both sides will further develop cooperation in all spheres in the spirit of traditions of the Czechoslovak-Polish alliance and friendship.

Commentary Views Future Polish Government

LD2508234189 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Milan Suchanek commentary] txt
[Text] At its session yesterday the Polish Sejm elected the country's new premier, Tadeusz Mazowiecki. We have this comment by Radio Prague's Milan Suchanek:

Will Mr Mazowiecki be able to appoint an efficient broad coalition government or will the country be thrust in a government crisis? This only the future will tell. The manner in which Mr Mazowiecki assembles his new cabinet will be our first clue. Solidarity, which is not just a mere trade union movement but a strong political force, has no experience in ruling the country. Indeed its past policies purport only disorder and disruption. That's why Solidarity's claims that they are going to make the Polish national economy more healthier sounds somewhat dubious.

Thus it would be simply impossible and also run counter to Poland's interest to take seriously a government without representatives from the 2 million member Polish United Workers Party, (?which is the only one) which offers a realistic program of leading the country out of this present crisis. That is why the Polish communists want to know the starting platform for the formation of a new government and their standpoint is quite clear—reforms within socialism must not drag Poland toward another social system but they should instead revitalize the current Polish economy.

In his manifesto Mr Mazowiecki spoke in favor of a broad-based coalition government and for the principal restructuring of the Polish society and state. He has also announced that Poland will respect its pledges ensuing from its membership in the Warsaw Treaty alliance. These are clear and binding words, which document a logical international flavor of Polish reforms. These reforms should herald speedy settlement of the present economic crisis which affects mainly the weaker social strata of the population. But they may achieve quite the opposite if instead of cooperation a political struggle begins with all its implications. The new premier's policy will show what directions Poland will take.

Commentary on Mazowiecki's Appointment

AU2808111789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Aug 89 p 7

[Pavol Minarik commentary: "A New Premier, A New Government"]

[Text] A new government is being formed in Poland. After many decades, a representative of a political force other than the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] has been placed at its head. He is Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a senior Solidarity official, that is, an official of an organization whose character we know, although it does not classify itself as a party, has long ago transcended the original boundaries of a trade union.

While this is an internal matter for our northern neighbors, our public is nevertheless following developments in Poland with unconcealed interest. After all, Poland is not only our neighbor but also our traditional ally. We have a common border, which is more than 1,300 km long, and also common interests in many spheres. Our history, culture, and also our contemporary foreign policy and economies are mutually interlinked in many spheres. We sought and we found a common language in the burning issues of environmental protection. The Polish People's Republic is our second largest trading partner and we are its second largest partner. We want, and there are prerequisites for this, this cooperation to be modified into qualitatively new dimensions. Not only the most senior representatives, but also the citizens of both our countries have voiced their support for and are still voicing their support for good neighborly relations and their development, although recently in Poland other detrimental, malevolent voices have also been heard. However, these are characteristic only of individuals from Solidarity's extremist circles. Their influence is not vital. First and foremost, what the future brings will be vital. It goes without saying that we will regard Mazowiecki as a partner in matters which unite both our countries.

It is also in our Czechoslovak interest that Poland overcomes its grave contemporary economic problems as soon as possible. An end to the long continuing

government crisis, the formation of such a government cabinet which would succeed in stemming the growth of contemporary negative tendencies is a step which today not only the whole of Poland is awaiting but also all of its sincere friends.

On Thursday [24 August] in the Sejm Tadeusz Mazowiecki promised that before the end of the month he would try to form a broad coalition government which will take into consideration all the proposals specified by the main political forces in the country. The appointment of a Solidarity representative as head of the Polish Government characterizes the new situation which has arisen in the country of our northern neighbors after the parliamentary elections in June in which the opposition triumphed. A politician belonging to the Catholic wing of the opposition finds himself at the helm of government. Czeslaw Kiszczak, who stepped down as premier, said a day before Mazowiecki's election that "as long as the premiership will be entrusted to him, it will be in good hands." He also emphasized that the PZPR will support Mazowiecki's government in all issues beneficial to the country and to the whole of society. He highlighted the economy as being the greatest problem which the new government will have to deal with.

Poland's economic situation is indeed dramatic. Production has fallen sharply for the fourth month in a row. The market imbalance is intensifying. The deficit in the state budget has reached gigantic proportions. Inflation is rising daily. All of this is a reflection of the strike wave which has again dealt a blow and also of the uncontrolled wage increases which are associated with it. All of this makes the task of Mazowiecki's government more complicated. Moreover, with the greatest probability, completely new faces representing various interests and points of view will appear in the government. Therefore, a new government cabinet without representatives of the largest party, the more than 2-million-strong PZPR, which has the only realistic program for a way out of the crisis and for prospective development, would not correspond to the influence and position of the party in the state. Without the PZPR's participation it is not possible to resolve the accumulated contemporary problems. From the words of the premier so far it seems that he realizes this. However, just like previous governments, society will not judge this new government according to its statements but according to real results.

In recent days, we have been carefully following the statements made by L. Walesa, the Solidarity chairman, and by the new premier, Mazowiecki, that Poland will remain a firm element of the Warsaw Pact and that it will fulfill all its allied pledges with the USSR, the CSSR, and the other socialist countries—statements which bind those who made them.

Article in Bulgarian Paper on Aug 1968 Cited

AU2308132589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Aug 89 p 7

["RABOTNICHESKO DELO Article"—headline]

[Text] RABOTNICHESKO DELO, the press organ of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, published on Monday [21 August] an article on the events in Czechoslovakia in August 1968. It stresses that on this occasion interested circles in many countries continue to distort the real causes behind the 1968 events, they are manipulating the facts, and using the events to exacerbate the situation and stop and the process of renewal in today's Czechoslovakia.

The newspaper then describes in detail the antisocialist nature of the campaign launched recently in connection with the "A Few Sentences" appeal, reports on its aims, and provides information on its mass condemnation in letters being addressed to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, the government, and the media.

We are again encountering the instigating role of certain radio stations and the militarist NATO circles. These actions represent interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state and a violation of the basic principles of international relations. The political instigation, whose edge in recent days has been directed against Czechoslovakia, is evident in the behavior of a group of opponents of socialism. It is only natural for the Czechoslovak public to take the necessary legal measures against this instigation, which brings to mind the scenario directed not only against that socialist country both before and after 1968.

The Warsaw Pact states have always pursued a policy of peace and cooperation, which decisively contributed to the signing of the Helsinki and Vienna agreements, to which they steadfastly adhere. However, the attempts of certain circles in the NATO member states to abuse their good will have not ceased. This was the case in the 1960's, when the attempts to weaken our military-political alliance continued under conditions of peaceful coexistence. Czechoslovakia was their target. RABOTNICHESKO DELO points out that under the conditions of the internal situation, exacerbated with foreign assistance, an attack was undertaken against the socialist society and against the military-strategic parity that had been achieved.

In the last two years, which was a period of asserting the new political thinking mainly under the influence of the peace initiatives of the USSR and the other socialist countries, serious changes took place in international relations in the direction of disarmament and cooperation, and of resolving conflicts and problems through political means. Any attempt to obstruct one way or another progress toward a world of understanding and a future without wars, and to question the right of every nation to select its own road toward the common goal, is even more inadmissible under these conditions. The embers of religious intolerance and imperial ambitions are still being sought from the past and freshly fanned. Illegal actions are being encouraged and tension created. This hardly serves the universal interest.

This road does not lead toward the common home in which history has compelled all of us to live together, RABOTNICHESKO DELO says in conclusion.

Kucera Receives Cranston, Other Senators

LD2508154489 Prague CTK in English
1230 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 25 (CTK)—Deputy Chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Bohuslav Kucera received here today a group of American senators for the Democratic Party, led by Senator Alan Cranston of California.

Bohuslav Kucera acquainted the guests with the position of the Czechoslovak highest legislative body in the political system, its composition and functions.

Speaking about international issues, he stressed that the federal assembly demands from the government that the Czechoslovak foreign policy actively help remove the danger of war, strengthen confidence and security and develop broad cooperation among states. The government has received full support for the declaration of unilateral disarmament steps, he said.

American senators were interested in the targets of the Czechoslovak economic reform and other questions, for instance how Czechoslovak citizens are informed of the activity of the federal assembly in mass media.

Meeting With Lenart

LD2508205389 Prague CTK in English
1902 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 25 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Lenart received here today a group of U.S. Democratic senators headed by Alan Cranston.

The level of Czechoslovak-U.S. relations was discussed during the talks. The two sides agreed that there are considerable possibilities of their further development in all spheres.

Jozef Lenart informed the U.S. guests of the present situation in Czechoslovakia, the restructuring and democratization of Czechoslovak society, following the aim to ensure further development of socialism in the country. He paid special attention to Czechoslovak-U.S. relations particularly in the sphere of economic and scientific-technological cooperation. He said that removal of the well-known obstacles by the U.S. side would be fully in tune with the positive international development, the process of disarmament and the forming of an atmosphere of confidence between states. In this context he added that mutual relations must be established on the principle of mutual equality, bilateral benefits and sovereignty.

DPA Reports GDR Refugees Being Deported

LD2708194489 Hamburg DPA in German 1826 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—CSSR authorities are deporting GDR citizens detained while trying to escape to Austria back to East Berlin. This came to light in Berlin today with news of Friday evening's failed escape attempt by a family with five children. The family tried to escape by car.

The family was taken to a barracks in Bratislava. The parents were interrogated separately with an interpreter present. Many GDR citizens who had been caught in similar circumstances had stayed in the barracks.

The family's car was impounded and the mother and her children were put on a train to East Berlin yesterday. It was reported that her husband would shortly follow.

The family had decided to escape after their exit application to visit the wife's father in West Berlin was again refused.

More Refugees Escape

LD2708114889 Hamburg DPA in German 1047 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Text] Eisenstadt (DPA)—In spite of intensified Hungarian controls, more GDR citizens fled over the Hungarian-Austrian border. In the past 24 hours, again around 180 people succeeded in escaping to Brugenland, according to information today. An exact figure can hardly be established because, according to information from the Austrian security directorate for Burgenland, not all refugees register with the authorities, and on the other hand one was more interested in a speedy forwarding to Vienna than in registering. In Vienna, the German Embassy is seeing that the refugees are quickly traveling on to the Federal Republic.

In contrast to the previous days, no more large groups are coming over the Hungarian-Austrian state frontier. The GDR citizens are mostly escaping in smaller groups of five to six people. In the moerbisch area, 30 GDR escapees last night took advantage of primary care by the Red Cross in the reception camp in the vintners' hall. They reported that already in Nagycenk—12 kilomoters east of Sopron (oedenburg)—cars with GDR number plates were being prevented from driving by Hungarian policemen.

According to information from the Austrian newspaper DIE PRESSE, up to now in August approximately 4,000 GDR refugees are said to have been accepted at the German Embassy in Vienna and sent on to the Giessen refugee camp. At the weekend, Hungarian authorities said that there were no figures known as to the number of GDR holidaymakers in Hungary. Previously a figure of around 200,000 visitors had been named. The Hungarian news agency MTI spoke at the end of the week of 2,000 to 3,000 GDR refugees in Hungary.

Hungarians Assure West Over GDR Refugees

LD2708092189 Paris Domestic Service in French 0800 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Text] The massive exodus to the West via Austria is continuing, but the Hungarian authorities have begun to get tough. The Hungarian Government, after giving assurances to the West, is now trying to soothe the anger of its fraternal countries, because since yesterday the border with Austria has been guarded better, but this does not prevent any further leaks, all the more so because because would-be one-way travelers are being helped by well-meaning smugglers. This is the case at Sopron, a border post with Austria and our correspondent Joelle Stolz is there:

[Stolz] Here in the immediate vicinity of Sopron, the busiest border post with Austria, controls have been stepped up and soldiers are systematically stopping vehicles with GDR registration plates. The vehicles then tend to be found later abaondoned by their occupants beside the road or in camping sites in the region, because these measures are not enough to discourage would-be defectors, who can rely on the often disinterested assistance of Hungarian and Austrian smugglers to guide them through the forests. Yesterday, just as the day before yesterday, a good 100 or so East Germans, who were joined for the first time by a number of Czechoslovaks, managed to reach Austria in small groups. What is no longer possible, on the other hand, is the mass escapes such as the one at the beginning of this week which put the Hungarian authorities in an embarrassing position and forced them to crack down. Budapest does not want to give the impression that it supports the illegal emigration of nationals from the fraternal countries, but while they have begun to show their teeth a little in order to soothe East Berlin, Hungarians made a hurried trip to Bonn to reassure the West. They are reported, in particular, to have given a guarantee that unlucky fugitives will not be sent back forcibly to the GDR with an (?incriminating) mark in their passports. So the door to freedom is not closed, but it has simply been made narrower. This is Joelle Stolz in Sopron for France Inter.

TANJUG Reports Refugee Increase in Hungary

LD2808140289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1227 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 28 (TANJUG)—Another 350 refugees from the German Democratic Republic reported to the Hungarian Red Cross and the Maltese Hunting Order in the refugee camp of Csileberci in Budapest's suburb, over the past week-end.

The number of East German refugees in Hungary has thus increased to 1,500. One in ten of the 150,000-200,000 East German tourists visiting Hungary at the moment are expected to try and cross to West Europe.

The Hungarian Government is investing major efforts in order to humanely resolve the problem as soon as

possible but underscores that the outcome depends, above all, on the Bonn-Berlin agreement.

The national conference of the Hungarian Democratic Forum has asked the European Parliament and competent United Nations bodies to put the question of East German refugees on the agenda of their sessions. The opposition movement thus wants to internationalize the pending situation, since the until now bilateral and trilateral negotiations between the two Germanies and Hungary have failed to yield wished-for results.

Leipzig Daily Report on GDR Refugees Cited

AU2808121089 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 28 Aug 89 p 9

[APA/DPA report: "Leipzig Daily: 'Illegal Emigres'"]

[Text] Berlin—A GDR newspaper has for the first time reported indirectly on the mass flight of compatriots via Hungary. LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG wrote about one of the refugees who is already in the FRG: "Having arrived in Austria via the Hungarian border with a larger group of illegal emigres," he spoke about his ideas of freedom into the microphones of Western TV stations.

The young man was quoted incompletely on Friday last week [25 August]: "I got really tanked up here in a nearby pub. When I left I was totally drunk, but I still had DM20 in my pocket, which local people had given me."

LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in a class-conflict spirit: "There you are! What are the ideals of social and individual freedom that have been implemented in the GDR worth, compared with the experience of getting drunk in a West German pub, and even getting a DM20 banknote to boot."

What the newspaper does not mention is the fact that the young man was drunk because he was welcomed by the other guests in the pub in a particularly friendly manner and was invited by them to drink time and again.

SED's Lorezn, Mongolian Batmonh Discuss Peace

LD2608143389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1115 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Ulaanbaatar (ADN)—The preservation of peace is and remains the most important task in international relations. Jambyn Batmouh, the general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, and Siegfried Lorenz, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee Politburo, stressed this today during a discussion in Ulaanbaatar.

The upcoming 50th anniversary of the unleashing of World War II was one more occasion to refer to this question vital to mankind. Nowadays it is a question of making the introduced change from confrontation to cooperation irreversible through concrete disarmament steps.

Siegfried Lorenz, 1st secretary of the SED Karl-Marx-Stadt Area (Bezirk) Executive, is at present on a visit of several days to the Mongolian People's Republic at the head of an SED delegation.

CSSR's Calfa Meets With FDJ Functionary

AU2808105989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Close Relations Between Members of FDJ and Socialist Youth Union"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin (ADN)—On Wednesday [23 August] Minister of the USSR Government Marian Calfa was received in Berlin by Gabriele Klembalski, second secretary of the Central Council of the Free Germany Youth [FDJ]. She briefed the guest on results and experiences of the socialist youth association in implementing the "GDR 40 FDJ Call." She stressed the high expectations of the GDR's young generation concerning the implementation of treaty on the youth foundation of the GDR and the CSSR. [passage omitted]

The interlocutors concurrently noted that the youth foundation has introduced a new chapter in the cooperation between the young of the two countries. The close relations between many basic organizations of the FDJ and their partner organizations of the Socialist Youth Union form a good basis for this. [passage omitted]

Reinhold Advocates Performance Society

AU2608191589 East Berlin EINHEIT in German No 8/1989 pp 700-706

[Article by Otto Reinhold, member of the SED Central Committee, rector of the Academy of Social Sciences, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and member of the EINHEIT editorial board: "Socialism as a Performance Society"]

[Excerpts] According to Marx and Engels, socialism is a society which can establish all conditions for the productive forces and the capacity in economy and society to generally develop quickly and continuously. The dynamic development of the economy and society is the precondition for the systematic elevation of the working people's material and intellectual-cultural standard of living, for the free development of their talents and skills, and for the implementation of all ideals and values of socialism. At the same time, Marx and Engels categorically rejected all ideas that intended to reduce the transition toward the socialist society to a just distribution of available goods. It is not the just distribution of poverty, but the creation of social wealth by society for the benefit of all its members that corresponds to the nature of the socialist system.

Performance Before Distribution

When Marx formulated the basic principle of the economic and social development of the new society in his "Criticism of the Gotha Program," he never understood this to be just a principle of distribution. He wrote: "Each according to his abilities—to each according to his performance." The starting point is that each is working according to his abilities, whereby these abilities continue to develop more and more. Only then can the standard of living of all people be continuously raised through a more just distribution. Performance comes before distribution. The classics of Marxism-Leninism understood socialism in this spirit as a society of high performance, that is, a performance society.

The social concept of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] follows these ideas without any restrictions. In its policy for the 1990's, too, our party is proceeding from the premise that a considerable increase of the capacity in the national economy, as well as in all other fields of social life, is necessary to continue the unity of economic and social policy and to further implement our ideals and values of socialism.

In this connection, we take into consideration that in today's world, some factors have become increasingly effective, which considerably intensify the need to increase the capacity in the economy and society with high speed. This particularly refers to the scientific-technological revolution and the struggle between the two social systems. The speed of scientific-technological progress has strongly increased, the ruling imperialist circles have put the utilization of the scientific-technological revolution in the interest of high profits and the expansion of their positions of power into the center of their policy.

Marx and Engels derived the need for steadily increasing capacity from the internal requirements of socialism. Today important international aspects are added. The rapidly increasing economic and social capacity of the socialist countries decisively determines the international relationship of power and also the GDR's international positions. Our country's international position—in particular within the framework of international economy—has become a decisive factor for our economic and societal development. One only has to think of the fact that the GDR achieves about half of its national income via foreign trade and that, because of its potential, which is limited due to the country's size, it depends on international division of labor and on cooperation.

In theory, it is generally recognized that socialism is and must be a performance society, that a high and steadily increasing capacity is the fundamental condition for its existence and development, and that, therefore, it is based on all working people's readiness for performance. However, what is needed is not only the theoretical insight, but its practical implementation.

If we look at the real development in our country from this point of view, we doubtlessly note a high readiness for performance and a mass of great achievements. Otherwise, the dynamic development of our country's economy would not be possible. This high readiness for performance was and is the precondition for the fact that many complicated problems, which arose out of the international development, out of events caused by nature, but also out of internal contradictions, have been successfully overcome. [passage omitted]

The question is how motivation for high performances, particularly for top performances, can be essentially increased, and how creativity can be considerably raised.

There are certainly many factors that play a role in the theoretical and the practical answer to this question. The idea that it might be possible to establish a mechanism that has the effect of a strong performance stimulus, analogous to the profit motive of capitalism, is completely unrealistic. All hopes to this effect are deceptive and necessarily lead to erroneous developments. Socialism has to find and follow its specific paths toward motivation of performance—paths which correspond to its nature—in order to link performance and distribution.

Of course, the consistent implementation of the principle of distribution after performance is a decisive lever. This not only involves the shaping of individual wages, salaries, and bonuses, but also the performance appraisal of the combines, enterprises, cooperatives, scientific institutions, and other collectives. However, it has been shown that the performance principle alone, which is understood in this spirit, cannot fulfill this task if it is isolated from other social development processes.

Above all, the ideological situation and the social behavior in general play an essential role. [passage omitted]

Equalization Does Not Benefit Anyone

Nevertheless, in this context there are a number of problems, which have to be thought through and solved in a better way. We still find trends to equalize everything. Theoretically, we have a clear position in this respect. The socialist society has established the equality of all citizens in important fields. This includes the equal relationship with the most important producer goods and with work. The exploitation of man by man has been eliminated. One's own work is the source of income. Social security and full employment are the basis of this. All people have the same right to participate in essential political and economic decisions. The free development of their talents and skills has been equally guaranteed to all people. In distribution, all people have the same right to receive a share in the national income in line with their real performance. Those who do more must get more, those who do less must get less. The consistent enforcement of this principle is the utmost degree of social justice that can be achieved in socialism.

However, we also find opinions and attitudes that seriously hamper the consistent enforcement of this principle. Thus, we meet with the attitude that social justice in socialism consists in the fact that everyone can buy everything at any time, can "afford everything." If this were the case, we could do without the performance principle. It is the nature of the performance principle that one can buy more high-quality consumer goods or certain services only if one does correspondingly more work before.

One of the practiced inconsistencies is the habit of applying the performance principle only in one direction: Those who work more get higher wages or bonuses. Those who do not fulfill their tasks or fulfill them badly do not necessarily get less. Therefore, there is justified criticism of the fact that this levels the differences between excellent work, the full use of all one's strength, and bad work. The payment of wages, salaries, bonuses or performance- oriented bonuses without receiving corresponding performance for this, fundamentally violates the principle of socialist justice. This necessarily counters the motivation for high performance.

Of course, the enforcement of the performance principle is by far not only a question of wage calculation. It is implemented with great consistency in all places where an atmosphere of precise performance appraisal has been created through frank discussions. It is completely normal that arguments cannot be avoided in this process. Where this atmosphere does not exist, where this critical appraisal is evaded, trends to equalize everything are dominant. Obviously, the consistent enforcement of the performance principle requires the development of the motive forces that result from its application and a broader public discussion of the appertaining questions and problems. This could essentially contribute to establishing the necessary atmosphere of critical and thus realistic performance appraisal, which is absolutely necessary, in the society as a whole and in the individual collectives. [passage omitted]

Promoting Top Achievements

One of the central tasks of our economic and social strategy is developing top products in important fields of the modern key technologies and in other areas—not only compared with production to date, but compared with international top products. It is completely undisputed that this is possible only with top experts. [passage omitted]

Maximum promotion of top experts has nothing to do with the creation of any new elite in a bourgeois way. We just have to remember that in GDR history, we first broke the privilege of education and then all conditions were established for everyone to freely develop his skills and talents without restrictions. [passage omitted]

Intensively expanded reproduction in connection with the scientific-technological revolution fundamentally changes the position of man in the economy. Not only technical requirements are increasing, but also individual responsibility and individual opportunities for decisions. Motivation for high performance and readiness for performance is becoming increasingly important. It is one of the advantages of socialism that it is in its nature to have potentials and possibilities to develop this motivation to a special extent. However, this does not happen automatically, but has to take place deliberately and according to plan. The unity of economic and social policy is the decisive basis for this. [passage omitted]

The consistent application of the performance principle is essential, which makes it obvious to anybody that dedication and good work pay off. However, this can be expected only if the effect of bad work is felt in an equally obvious way. This motivation includes the possibilities for development and respect as a personality, the creative and open atmosphere in the collective, but above all, the full identification with the work tasks. This is particularly important in view of the far-reaching technological changes presently taking place and that are to be expected in the 1990's. [passage omitted]

Being a Socialist Owner

In this context, there also is the relationship of the working people with socialist ownership. How can it be achieved that not only the fruits of social ownership are being harvested, but that people behave as owners day by day, use this property efficiently, and thereby increase its fruits? In most socialist countries, this question is being discussed comprehensively. Varied proposals are being submitted and tackled in practice. If one looks at this discussion, the majority of the proposals refer to such forms as the system of lease, cooperatives, and stock corporations. We—who have acquired excellent experiences for instance in agriculture on the path of steady development of cooperatives—first and foremost want to find and apply methods and forms of management, planning, and economic cost accounting in the state-owned economy, the most important and by far largest part of the socialist economy; forms that increase readiness for performance and capacity to the utmost degree.

We can proceed from the premise that since the 1970's all measures for shaping the management system in the GDR have served this purpose—from forming and developing the combines to introducing bonus payment in the largest part of the economy. Now we are on the point of taking a new important step—gradually and comprehensively applying the principle of self-financing in combines and enterprises. For 3 years this principle has been successfully tested in 16 combines; another 40 combines will be included in the work in line with comprehensive self-financing with the working out of the 1990 plan.

The essential issue of this principle is the fact—and this is also how the working people in the 16 combines and their enterprises understood the matter—that only the things which have previously been earned can be used,

that the produce of one's own work decides the extent of the successful continuation of the unity of the economic and social policy in general, and that, therefore, the potentials and opportunities of socialist property have to be exploited as far as possible if a high level of management and consumption is to be achieved. The transition to the principle of self-financing is a decisive step to further develop readiness for performance and capacity and to constructively further shape the attitude toward socialist ownership of producer goods. Of course, for this principle to be effective, it must be linked with the work of every brigade and every working person.

In a number of capitalist countries, a considerable increase of economic efficiency has been reached through the use of modern science and technology over the past years. In particular, in those socialist countries which have so far not been able to find and successfully embark upon their own paths corresponding to socialism, this has given rise to efforts to rely on capitalist methods to raise efficiency.

However, it has been shown that one cannot take on one-quarter or one-eighth the aspect of capitalism and shape the rest in a socialist way. The capitalist methods in the struggle for high economic efficiency work only within the framework of capitalist society as a whole. They cannot work when they are taken out of the overall context. They are effective only in connection with the corresponding position of the working people in the society, with the sale of labor, with the pressure caused by unemployment, social decline, a society for only two-thirds of the people, and capitalist competition, and with a fear of the next day. The effort to apply these methods under socialist conditions requires with iron logic taking over ever new elements of the capitalist society. But it is absolutely certain that socialism does not become attractive if it too, shows unemployment, inflation, poverty, and other basic evils of capitalism. [passage omitted]

The motive forces of socialism can become fully effective only if its preconditions are fully developed in all fields of social life—from the system of management, planning, and economic cost accounting, the continuity of the reproduction process, the offer of consumer goods and services, to the dominating of the socialist ideology.

feld Gang Member
ES DEUSCHLAND
in German 24 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Agent of the Criminal Breitfeld Gang Sentenced"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On 23 August 1989, the Berlin City Court sentenced Berlin (West) inhabitant Stefan Nork to 6 years in prison for crimes according to Penal Code Section 105. The car that was used for the crime, a "Golf" with license plate B-CE 9805, was impounded. At the main trial it was proved that Nork permitted himself to be hired by the head of the notorious criminal Breitfeld gang for the purpose of earning money by criminal means and participated in the organization and committing of crimes against the GDR.

Army Protests Statement on Coup Possibility

LD2708135989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Text] The Army's MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] members have protested the statement of the organizer of the Worker' Marxist-Leninist Party, Sandor Petres. According to the statement, which appeared in the paper MAI NAP, the party, which for the moment lies outside the legal frameworks, is capable of a military coup. At the party meeting of the Army's armament and technical main group leadership, the participants protested and emphasized that soldiers want a political solution to the debated questions. They are against anyone using the Army to decide political struggles, or even threatening to do so.

The Hungarian Democratic Forum also has protested the fact that the Workers' Guard has also appeared on the Austrian-Hungarian border and is participating in holding back GDR refugees. According to the appeal by the Democratic Forum, it is the government's obligation to command the border guard to behave humanely. The document draws attention to the fact that along with the population's sincere willingness to help, gangs raiding abandoned cars have also appeared.

The Hungarian Democratic Forum is turning to the European Parliament and other international organizations to place the refugee questions on the agenda, all the more so because it can be already foreseen that this subject will become more and more dangerous.

Defense Ministry on Coup

AU2708204389 Paris AFP in English 1933 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, Aug 27 (AFP)—A Defence Ministry spokesman took pains this weekend to distance the Hungarian Armed Forces from a new communist party whose leader said its supporters would be ready to take up arms "to ensure workers are not excluded from power." Sandor Petres of Hungary's newly-created Marxist-Leninist Party, which claims to have a large following within the ruling party, made the statement in an interview published Friday in the daily paper MAI NAP.

In a response published in the press here Sunday, Colonel Gyoergy Keleti expressed shock at the statement by Mr Petres.

"We are keeping a maximum distance away from this new group and we guarantee that they will not be in possession of arms," Col Keleti said. The Hungarian Army "supports the changes under way in Hungary and considers that they should take place in a peaceful way, by political means," he added.

Soldiers' Treatment of GDR Refugees Reported

Shoot at Refugees

AU2508190789 Hamburg BILD in German 25 Aug 89 pp 1, 8

[P. Kirschner/C. Koenigs/C. Sturm report: "Hunt for GDR Refugees"]

[Text] Sopron—It was a black day for mankind. Apparently on the orders of officers, 500 Hungarian soldiers hunted for GDR refugees around Sopron. They fired shots from machine pistols above their heads and haphazardly beat the defenseless people with wooden and rubber truncheons. Children were also beaten, some of them were bleeding, one was hit by projectile splinters. One of the refugees said: "They hunted us like rabbits." Hungarian peasants swore at the brutal soldiers, "You swine!" There were also good news yesterday: The 108 refugees in the embassy in Budapest were flown out.

In the Maltese camp near Budapest, 160 GDR citizens had planned another mass escape. Each of them paid 500 forints (DM 16) to rent three buses. Then the convoy left for the border near Sopron. It was joined by 20 families in their cars.

However, as far as 5 km from the border there was the first control by soldiers of the Hungarian Army, not, as usual, by border guards. They drove the refugees out of the buses. A man reports: "We continued our way on foot in three groups, one headed for Fertorakos, the second for Klingenbach [Austrian Province of Burgenland, the third for Kophaza."

Around 1600, 70 people marched toward the border near Kophaza, across a railroad embankment, then another 200 meters. Dietmar (38 years old) from Chemnitz (Karl-Marx-Stadt) started to run with his wife Hannelore (38 years old) and his daughter Silke (11 years old):

He reported: "Suddenly we heard warning shots from the left. Everyone ran to the right into thorny blackberry bushes, then into the woods, a clearing—there a chain of 40 soldiers was waiting with pointed machine guns."

A volley was fired above the heads of the refugees, among them 15 children. Shouts, many cried. Dietmar continued: "A young officer shouted, 'Sit down!' But my daughter Silke stood riveted to the spot." Then the officer fired a machine pistol volley into the ground before the child's feet: stones and earth spattered, Silke cried and broke down. Blood dripped from her right shoulder.

Dietmar: "I wanted to pounce on the officer, but a soldier held a pistol to my temple." A military truck took Silke and her parents to the hospital in Sopron. The surgeon was terrified and asked, "Have they gone mad?" The doctor removed splinters from Silke's shoulder.

The hunt continued at the border. Guenter (44 years old), a performer from East Berlin, said: "An officer shouted at his soldiers, 'Beat them up!'" The soldiers

obeyed and haphazardly beat the refugees with truncheons. Niko (13 years old) was hit on the throat, since that time he has not been able to speak.

Near Fertorakos soldiers sprayed tear gas at 60 refugees and also beat little children with wooden truncheons. The soldiers stole jackets, cigarettes, and shoes from the GDR citizens.

Then all were loaded on trucks and set down in the dark 40 kilometers later. The refugees think, "The plans for our escape were probably betrayed by informers of the State Security Service."

Refugees 'Disappear'

AU2608170189 Hamburg BILD in German 26 Aug 89 pp 1, 7

[Christian Sturm report: "Carried Off? Refugees Disappeared in Hungary"]

[Text] Budapest—Almost 12,000 GDR citizens want to go from Hungary to the West. The fear of these 12,000 people is growing—fear of tightened border controls, fear of informers and agents of the State Security Service. Plans of mass escapes have been betrayed, refugees have disappeared. Many believe that they were carried off by the State Security Service. Reportedly, the kidnapping of a 28-year-old woman was frustrated in the "Csilleberc" refugee camp near Budapest, and the woman was hurt.

In the GDR, the 28-year-old woman had intimate relations with an agent of the State Security Service. Together with her 2-year-old son, she now wants to flee to the West via Hungary. For the time being, she has found accommodations in the "Csilleberc" camp near Budapest.

When she went to the toilet in the night, a man pressed a cotton pad with chloroform to her face. She fainted.

The next morning she was found with her face bruised. Refugees suppose that an attempt to kidnap her had been made and the kidnapper had been disturbed.

Two young men from the Maltese camp have disappeared: On Urban's Square in Budapest, they were dragged into a Lada, which was driven off at high speed. The German Embassy is conducting investigations.

However, GDR citizens also report that alleged escape agents do not bring people to Austria, but carry them off to the GDR. A refugee said, "Every day people disappear." Eight refugees presented the following letter to the GDR ambassador in Budapest, "We want to be deprived of our citizenship and to emigrate. We are not prepared to return to the GDR." The GDR diplomat thanked them and said, "we will examine your wishes."

The cars that are left behind will not be handed over to the GDR, but put up for auction in Hungary. The proceeds will be transferred to the owners, a Hungarian paper reports.

Workers Militia To Help Guard

LD2508144189 Budapest MTI in English 1130 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 25 (MTI)—At the request of the Border Guard, the Workers' Militia is to provide assistance in guarding the borders of the Hungarian People's Republic. They are to patrol the area mainly in their weekend free time, to jointly prevent illegal crossings with the Border Guard, and the stealing and looting of vehicles left by foreign citizens in the border region with the Customs and Excise Office.

Nemeth, Horn Visit FRG, Meet With Leaders

GDR Refugees Discussed

LD2508194189 Budapest MTI in English 1959 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 25 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth and Foreign Minister Gyula Horn paid a working visit to the Federal Republic of Germany on Friday.

In Schloss Gymnich near Cologne, they held penetrating talks with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Vice-Chancellor Hans-Dietrich Genscher, minister of foreign affairs.

Bearing in mind European detente and universal human rights, they discussed the case of the GDR citizens staying in Hungary with the intention of resettling in the Federal Republic of Germany. The representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic stressed that finding a solution to the problem essentially falls within the competence of the two German states. Driven by humanitarian considerations, the Hungarian government is ready to give every assistance in its power towards a settlement.

Reviewing the state of bilateral relations, the German side emphasized the FRG's interest in the successful implementation of Hungarian reforms and socio-economic restructuring. The federal government is prepared to take further steps towards intensifying economic and financial cooperation between the two countries.

Herr Kohl and Herr Genscher expressed their government's readiness to promote the development of Hungary's links with the European Economic Community.

The federal chancellor confirmed his wish to take up the invitation he received to Hungary [as received] from Miklos Nemeth as soon as possible.

Talks Termed 'Cordial, Sincere'

LD2608170789 Budapest MTI in English 1626 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 26 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn gave a short statement about the

Hungarian-FRG prime ministerial and foreign ministerial talks held on Friday in Bonn, to the daily "NEPSZABADSAG".

"The meeting was held on the basis of joint agreement, in harmony with the fact that there are regular working relations between the two prime ministers and the two foreign ministers. The discussion was justified by several current issues of major importance in the Hungarian-FRG relation. These include that the FRG has, for some time now, participated in supporting the efforts to stabilize and renew the Hungarian national economy. The FRG is also interested in that the EEC, and most recently the 24 leading capitalist countries, create closer cooperation with Hungary.

"At the extremely cordial and sincere talks, we agreed that the FRG would accelerate the working out of concrete conditions of bilateral cooperation. The hosts ensured their full sympathy and support to the efforts of the Hungarian Government aimed at stabilizing the economic and social situation, and the reform policy. We could feel their confidence in the activity of the Hungarian Government at the meeting that lasted for more than four hours. Our discussions mainly focused on concrete issues of bilateral cooperation. However, in view of the situation that has come about, the affair of the GDR citizens staying in Hungary and wishing to resettle in the FRG was also naturally included in the talks. We experienced understanding and sympathy from our negotiating partners, as Hungary strives to treat this problem on a humanitarian basis," Mr Horn said.

Horn on Refugee Problem

AU2608184089 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1700 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by Wolfgang Juengst in Budapest on 26 August—recorded; Horn statements in Hungarian with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Juengst] Mr Minister, what concrete steps can Hungary take to solve this problem? Can the GDR refugees stay here?

[Horn] You see, in the first place I want to stress that Hungary advocates solutions in accordance with humanitarian principles, for example, via the Red Cross. We promote such solutions. On the other hand, I want to stress that this does not refer to GDR refugees. They do not want to stay in Hungary, and so far they have not requested refugee status. This will also not be the case in the future. They only want to go the FRG. Thus, a solution can be found between the FRG and the GDR, possibly with Hungary's help.

[Juengst] Do you rule out that you will go to East Berlin on a similar secret mission [referring to talks in Bonn on 25 August] to discuss the problem of refugees with the government there?

[Horn] We have permanent contact with the GDR authorities, and we are also ready for this in the next days and weeks. Thus, if the GDR makes any new proposal, and requests the cooperation of the Hungarian People's Republic, we are prepared.

Further on Horn Talks

LD2608205189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Interview with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by unidentified correspondent in studio on 26 August; from the "Newsreel" program—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Premier Miklos Nemeth and Foreign Minister Gyula Horn visited Bonn yesterday. The sudden visit came as a surprise to many people. The head of Hungarian diplomacy gave an interview to "Newsreel" today, in which he said that such unannounced visits were accepted practice in international affairs. With regard to the content of the talks, he said the following.

[Horn] There have been discussions between the two countries for months concerning various topics in the sphere of economic and financial cooperation and concrete agreements. It is well known that the FRG is our most important Western partner. Well, the government has to know, and in specific terms, what external cooperation and support it can count on for its program of economic development. The FRG not only has full confidence in the Hungarian changes and the policy of the Hungarian Government, and not only continues its endeavors aimed at deepening our cooperation, it further makes this concrete. This is important because the FRG plays an important role in the EEC and in the group of 24 countries, which is preparing a new package plan for concrete cooperation with Hungary.

[Correspondent] But specific agreements did not come about on this occasion?

[Horn] Not on this occasion. On the other hand, we agreed on the most important elements of these agreements.

[Correspondent] I must ask this question: the GDR tourists coming in large numbers to Hungary were mentioned at the talks?

[Horn] Of course. However, the talks did not focus on this issue. We find it of fundamental importance that the FRG-GDR dialogue continue on this topic. It is they who first and foremost must reach an agreement. Naturally, we will do whatever we can to help.

[Correspondent] You went to the FRG; will you go to the GDR as well to have talks on this question.

[Horn] If there is such an initiative on the part of the GDR Government, gladly. We favor every possible, rational solution. A country cannot afford to be a passageway.

[Correspondent] Can you say what is bad and what would be worse?

[Horn] It is certainly bad that the GDR would expect us to ensure somehow that its citizens return. We cannot ensure this; we cannot take this on. How would we do it? From another aspect, we cannot open the borders, we cannot accept the FRG's passports; after all, this would amount to admitting that the GDR has no authority over its own citizens. So, whatever solution we choose, it is sure to be unfavorable from our point of view.

Further on Arrest of Prague Demonstrators

Consul Appeals to Protestors

LD2508185489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] During our broadcast, Evelyn Forro has sent another report on the events in Prague:

[Forro] After the news spread that the Federation of Young Democrats was preparing various actions, the Hungarian consul, Lajos Taba, contacted (Zoltan Lovas), who with his companions is protesting outside the CSSR Embassy in Budapest. He asked that they weigh the likely foreign political effect of their actions before doing anything. He also asked them not to make the Prague Embassy's negotiating position more difficult in the case of Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi, which is favorable for the moment.

Lajos Taba spoke with the mother of Laszlo Pesthy, who was released on Wednesday, and she promised to go to the demonstrators and convey all of this to them.

MTI Details Proceedings

LD2608171389 Budapest MTI in English 1602 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 26 (MTI)—The Prague judge authorized with the case of Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi decided on Saturday to place the two young Hungarians under arrest and to begin court proceedings against them for violating public order.

Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi were informed by the judge of his decision at 3:45 p.m. on Saturday in the jail of the city police, in the presence of the Hungarian consul to Prague and the defence attorney commissioned by the Atlas Insurance Society of Budapest. The two Hungarians signed the statement in which they commission lawyer Dr Josef Lzicar to see to their legal defence. Lzicar is one of the most prominent Prague lawyers, he was the defence attorney for Vaclav Havel, the leading personality of Charter '77. Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi submitted a complaint against the arrest, and requested they be freed, and to hold the court proceedings in this way. The Hungarian Embassy has informed the judge it is ready to provide guarantees that the two will be available to the court. The first hearing in the case of Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi will probably be held on Tuesday.

Consul To Aid Defense

LD2708135689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Text] On the instructions of Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, the Hungarian consul in Prague will also participate in the legal defense of the two young men who have been arrested. This was stated by Consul Lajos Taba himself. The court proceedings against Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi will open on Tuesday. The participation of the consul in the defense work signifies reinforced legal defense.

The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry has also been informed of all this, in a note.

Horn Protests Treatment

LD2808111689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] The Hungarian foreign minister summoned the temporary charge d'affaires of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest and gave him the following message: Our country protests the treatment of the two Hungarian citizens detained during the demonstrations in Prague. Gyula Horn expressed his incomprehension over the fact that Czechoslovak authorities will not release Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi, despite the fact that the Hungarian consul in Prague offered guarantees. The Hungarian foreign minister stressed that this development may lead the Czechoslovak authorities to depict the role played by the two Hungarians as more serious than it actually was. At the same time, Gyula Horn reaffirmed the Hungarian stance that the organizing principle of inter-state relations is the principle of noninterference in each other's internal affairs.

Trilateral Forum Agrees on Election Procedures

LD2508202789 Budapest MTI in English 1932 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 25 (MTI)—The forthcoming parliamentary elections are to be organized in two rounds in a combined system of individual and list votings. 150 of the 350 MPS will be elected in individual districts, 150 on county lists and the remaining 50 posts will be filled after the counting of individual and list votes. This was the agreement reached during the trilateral medium-level political talks on Friday.

Participants also agreed that one person can run for election in one individual electoral ward, on two county lists and on the national list. Candidates will be named on a recommendation card. Should 50 percent of the electors stay away from the first round, the result in the second round will be valid if there is a 25 percent turnout.

No agreement was reached as to nomination. According to the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] and the opposition roundtable, only parties and citizens should be allowed to put up a candidate, while the third side would like to extend this right up to the social organizations. Discussion of the issue at a medium-level has been postponed until next week.

The medium-level political coordination talks are to continue with the discussion of the party law on Monday.

SZOT Regrets Decision To Raise Food Prices

LD2508195189 Budapest MTI in English 1841 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 25 (MTI)—The Board of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT) met on Friday to discuss the situation after the warning strike against the meat price rises and to assess the measures the government has taken so far.

It was stated with regret that the government had refused to suspend the price rise, and that the remarks the prime minister made about SZOT in his Cegled speech had also been confirmed by the government.

The board stressed that the membership will decide, as in the past, about trade union measures and responses to the government's measures. In any case, the SZOT Board remains ready for the meeting with the prime minister proposed during the May conference of SZOT and the government.

Decree Makes Religious Orders 'Natural Right'

LD2508165989 Budapest MTI in English 1321 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 25 (MTI)—A session was held by the Presidential Council on Friday. A law-decree was passed by the body on the operation of religious orders. In the process of elaborating the bill on the freedom of conscience and religion, it has become evident that the 1950 regulation, limiting the operating of the religious orders is outdated. The new statutory provision will be in line with the principle of separating state and church and ensuring the autonomy of the church. It will also be in accordance with the law on assembly and associations.

According to the law-decree passed by the Presidential Council at this session, the founding of religious orders is a natural right. As they are announced, new orders are to be registered by the minister of education, it was reported to MTI, by Barna Nagy Sarkadi, deputy minister, head of the Church Policy Secretariat of the Council of Ministers.

Mr Sarkadi also recalled that in 1950, the operation of religious orders was limited by the Presidential Council through a statutory provision, withdrawing the right of operation of the majority of the orders. Authorization was only issued for education orders such as the Benedictines, the Piarists and the Franciscans. Permission was issued in 1986 by the president of the state office for religious affairs for the operation of women's nursing order of the Our Lady of Hungary Society. The nurses of the order work in the charity organisations of the Catholic Church.

A number of religious orders have been reformed since the beginning of the year, including the Jesuits, the Cistercian, the Carmelite and the Sisters of Mercy orders. Returning the buildings formerly belonging to these orders is not possible at this stage, as they are mainly in use as schools, hospitals and homes for the elderly. However the government is ready to give assistance as far as possible to provide facilities.

Editorial Comments on Soviet-Nazi Pact

AU2508142189 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Aug 89 p 3

[Editorial by Peter Vajda: "Blue and Red"]

[Text] Was the non aggression pact signed by Ribbentrop and Molotov 50 years ago useful for preserving peace? The explanation provided to generations in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries was simple: The agreement provided time to prepare for war, and thus, in the final analysis, it was useful despite all its contradictions. Obviously, despite a measure of truth, this explanation is one-sided and lacks what a recent debate in Moscow called "multiple alternative thinking." In order to be able to objectively judge this argument, we should be aware of what would have happened in the case of another alternative. What would have happened without a Molotov-Ribbentrop pact? How much time would the Soviet Union have gained then? Because there is no conditional mood in history, we cannot give an answer to this question. It is a fact that, even so, the Soviet Union gained much less time than Stalin had originally counted on: Less than 2 years passed from August 1939 to June 1941. It is true that the "basic position" was different in June 1941: The borders were different and more advantageous, and the Germans needed more time to reach the interior of the country. However, considering the extension of the borders, the Germans still needed a relatively short time for that.

And this leads us to the following question: Why did Stalin have such an urgent need to gain time to confront Hitler's war machine? He needed this time because the repression had reached the highest level by 1939: Senseless tyranny had wiped out three-quarters of the highest ranking military commanders and two-thirds of the staff of officers. The legendary Tukhachevskiy and Blucher were no more, Uborevits and Yakir were no more; The cream of the most experienced military leaders had been executed. Compared to this primary human factor, the fact that the Soviet Army was lagging behind the Wehrmacht in equipment and modern arms was a secondary factor. Stalin was well aware of this.

In addition, the argument in favor of gaining time often relies on historical parallels—like the peace of Brest-Litovsk. It is impossible to deny certain similarities. This peace was also signed with Germany. True, it was signed after a war. But that Germany was not a fascist state. However, on 23 August 1939, the leaders of the world's first socialist country signed a document with representatives of the darkest forces in the history of mankind, with fascist Germany, the goal of which was formulated by its mad leader in his book Mein Kampf. The fact that the swastika was placed upside down on the red flag in the white field at Ribbentrop's arrival had a symbolic value. Moscow was not prepared for this flag, and progressive people and communist movements all over the world could not be prepared for this pact. Just as we cannot precisely define what the Soviet Union gained from this pact both in time and blood, it is also difficult to precisely describe the destruction this pact caused in the souls of people who were soon subjected to trials and oppression. In addition to being the absolute bottom line from a moral viewpoint, Stalin's actions—like delivering Austrian and German antifascists to Hitler—politically paralyzed the anti-fascist struggle all over the world. Or take Molotov's unparalleled cynical words in the Supreme Soviet: "The leading circles of England and France are trying to appear as forces fighting for the peoples' democratic rights and against Hitlerism.... However, it is clear to anyone that it is impossible to destroy an ideology by force.... Therefore, it is not only senseless, but also clearly a criminal deed to wage war under the slogan of a struggle for the 'destruction of Hitlerism' and for 'democracy.'"

As we can see, there is no clear-cut answer to the question appearing at the beginning of this article. It is generally impossible to give a one-word answer to questions on complex historical phenomena. Such answers are sometimes very dangerous. No matter how we judge this nonaggression pact, it is a fact that the Western powers pushed the Soviet leadership in this direction. Rudolf Augstein writes in DER SPIEGEL: Until Hitler's march into Prague in March 1939, the policy of Western powers was to use Hitler as an exorcising Beelzebub against the other demon, Stalin. The Western powers obviously had more confidence in the national socialist Berlin leadership than in the Communist leadership of red tsars in Moscow.

This explains what happened, but the explanation is not an absolution, particularly not in the view of the secret protocol to the pact also signed in Moscow. There were people who did their utmost to make sure that this secret would never emerge. Andrey Gromyko denied the existence of this secret protocl even in his last interview before his death, in accordance with Molotov's will. However, glasnost is putting an end to the kind of secret diplomacy which has decided the fate of individuals and nations for centuries. (Similar decisions were made over Hungary, often without its knowledge.)

The secret protocol is not a fake, and the map showing the spheres of influence is also genuine, including the two signatures, that of Ribbentrop in blue ink, and that of Stalin in red ink. (Later, on military headquarters maps, blue and red arrows depicted confronting armies....) Of course, without the secret protocol, one cannot judge the pact itself, because both were signed at the same time and by the same people. The same dawn on a June day represented the end of both documents. Everyone in the Soviet leadership knew that there was war, only Stalin hoped, even hours after the beginning of the German offensive, when villages were already burning near Bug, that this was all a misunderstanding and a mistake and that someone wanted to provoke him to wage war against Hitler.... Stalin, who hardly had a parallel in history as a suspicious politician, suspected everyone of provocation, but refused to believe that Hitler would attack despite their agreement. That is why, for decades, the grotesque and tragic attribute "traitor" was used by Soviet historians to describe Hitler's aggression.

Half a century has not eliminated the heritage of the secret protocol because a nation does not start with a clean page. Everything that happened in the past, no matter how it happened and for what reason, is part of a future status quo. One thing is certain: In the course of these 50 years, the dictionary of mankind included the words: "gas chamber," "nuclear bomb," "staged trial," and "cold war." Such a period of 50 years could not pass without trace, because, if it could, history would be meaningless, and just like a carousel, it would always take us back to the same point. A lot of things from the past might still be living in us and in our reflexes, and there are a lot of past habits present in today's age of new thinking, habits deriving from a diplomatic routine characterized by a lack of confidence. However, hopefully the diplomacy of secret protocols and of spheres of interest will not return. Hopefully, a time is approaching when all of us will move into the interest sphere of common sense, mutual understanding, and of complete national sovereignty and self-determination.

Finnish Paper Interviews Grosz on Upcoming Visit

LD2508125489 Budapest MTI in English 1023 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 25 (MTI)—Friday [25 August], Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Workers' Party, gave an interview to Olli Kivinen, foreign policy editor of the Finnish daily "HESINGIN SANOMAT." Referring to his forthcoming visit to Finland in early September, the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] general secretary also expressed his high regard for the development of Hungarian-Finnish cooperation.

NEPSZABADSAG on Romanian National Day

AU2508124189 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Aug 89 p 2

[Unattributed editorial: "Crumbling Walls"]

[Text] What is a holiday worth if it is a Romanian holiday? One automatically grabs a piece of paper and pat, festive sentences pour forth from one's mind. The present which we are organizing cannot be responsible for the future.

No matter how Romania is living its everyday life in 1989, this must not give rise to the defamation of history. Facts remain facts. For example, it is a fact that the day of 23 August 1944 is an outstanding date in the history of the Romanian people: On this day 45 years ago, taking advantage of the Soviet Army offensive on the Kishinev-Iasi front, the Romanian patriotic forces led by the Communist Party began an armed insurrection in Bucharest and, arresting Dictator Antonescu, they turned against the Nazi troops. In connection with the new Romania, there is a traditional respect for the memory of the first post-war Romanian premier Petru Groza who was a committed and active believer in the Romanian-Hungarian friendship. His ideas—namely that a harmonic future of the neighboring countries that are interdependent economically and in many other respects could be built only by asserting the democratic rights of the various peoples, ethnic groups, and national minorities, seeking mutual understanding, and by establishing open and multilateral contacts—are still valid.

However, today it is not enough to mention only these things and refrain from mentioning the fact that what is happening in Romania today is an attempt to break with the progressive traditions. Today, when at long last the demand for the values of thousands of years of human civilization—rather than the demand for new idols—is emerging everywhere, when an increasing number of people join the all-European march forward as a result of a thaw in bloc-thinking and when the people can really come closer to each other by dismantling barbed-wire obstacles, the image of a stubbornly secluded Romania is an increasingly impossible anachronism. The truth compels us not to forget to mention the appeals for help on festive days either, like the recent letter sent by Temesvar priest Laszlo Tokes: "We have gone only this far and we have just begun to dismantle our internal walls. The walls of silence, fear, and self-restraint."

Let us hope—and not only for the benefit of the Hungarians in Transylvania but also for the benefit of the Romanian population and every citizen of that country—that the walls of self-imposed isolation and seclusion will soon collapse, just like the walls of silence and fear which—in Laszlo Tokes' words—are already crumbling down.

In the spirit of such thoughts and anticipating good neighborly relations, we greet the people of Romania on their national day.

New Trade Paper To Be Issued in September

AU2508070089 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Aug 89 p 4

[Interview with Katalin Levai, chief editor of a new professional journal "CHANCES," by correspondent Sandor Rege: "New Trade Paper: Chances for Social Workers"—date, place not given]

[Excerpt] A new trade paper will be issued in September. The new journal, called "ESELY" [Chances], will provide information to social workers. We spoke with Katalin Levai about the plans of this new journal.

[Levai] The training of social workers and theoretical social politicians began at Lorand Eotvos Science University 4 years ago. At that point we recognized the fact that this strata of our society has no forum whatsoever. This led to the emergence of the Rezso Hilscher Social Policy Association, which is the publisher of the new journal. The new journal is intended to provide a forum for critical social policy.

[Rege] By giving us a list of its columns, you could perhaps give us an idea of the image of this journal.

[Levai] The first column is the theoretical column, which makes up 40 percent of the entire journal, and in which we will publish theoretical articles taken from progressive foreign journals. The second column will be called "The Hungarian Reality" and, accordingly, it will deal with our domestic social policy. The next column is the historical column, which will primarily focus on the history of our domestic social policy. We regard highly our column dealing with self-management, which will provide a platform for individual social policy initiatives that enjoy little support at the moment. Last of all, I mention our legal column. [passage omitted]

Article Comments on New Television Program

AU2408153189

[Editorial Report] Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian on 22 August on page 5 carries a 600-word article signed "T.L." commenting on the first broadcast of a new biweekly early morning television program "Day TV" aired on Budapest televsion channel one, under the headline: "Dawning Day."

Praising the "almost 50 issues covered during the 3-hour broadcast" of this news and background program, and the rich variety of subjects and political and cultural figures presented in the program, the author also expresses his uncertainty about the need for such a "news flash" program on television, which does not seem to add anything substantial to what similar radio programs are already offering, except for the images which, in the author's view, "are not yet sufficient."

In conclusion, the author expresses his hope that the new program will "overcome its initial difficulties and technical failures" and will provide features that are interesting enough to "make one get up so early in the morning."

Jaruzelski, Kiszczak Meet Soviet KGB Head

LD2608103689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Army General Vladimir Kruychkov, chairman of the Soviet State Security Committee—at the invitation of General Czeslaw Kiszczak, acting minister of Internal Affairs—has arrived in Warsaw on a brief working visit. The guest has been received by President Wojciech Jaruzelski. General Czeslaw Kiszczak was present at the talk.

Mazowiecki Meets Kryuchkov

LD2608215789 Warsaw PAP in English 1600 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 26—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki received here today chairman of the State Security Committee of the USSR Vladimir Kryuchkov, now on a working visit to this country.

The meeting was attended by General Czeslaw Kiszczak.

Leadership Members Meet Senator, Secretary Dole

Mazowiecki Receives Doles

LD2508162989 Warsaw PAP in English 1357 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 25—Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki met today the leader of the Republican minority in the U.S. Senate Robert Dole and his wife Elizabeth, secretary for labour at the U.S. President George Bush to the premier. [sentence as received]

Immediately after the visit, the prime minister talked with Chairman of the U.S. Congress CSCE Committee Senator Dennis DeConcini as well as with Senator Frank Lautenberg and Congressmen Bob McEwen and Jim Moody. They conveyed expressions of U.S. support for Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government and declared that they would do their best for U.S. economic assistance to live up to expectations.

U.S. Ambassador John Davis Jr. took part in both meetings.

Jaruzelski, Doles Discuss Ties

LD2508194489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski has received Mrs Elizabeth Dole, U.S. labor secretary, and her husband, Senator Robert Dole, leader of the Republican minority in the U.S. Senate. Polish-U.S. relations in light of the results of President George Bush's official visit to Poland in June of this year were discussed. The Polish side emphasized the question of the timing for implementation of the program of economic cooperation with Poland.

Walesa, Doles Meet in Gdansk

LD2608202189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer] There was a meeting in Gdansk today between Lech Walesa and Elizabeth Dole, U.S. secretary of labor, who is visiting Poland with her husband, Senator Robert Dole. Here are the translated speeches of the American guests, but the report from this meeting begins with the host, Lech Walesa:

[Begin recording] [Walesa] I have received a letter from Mr Bush. As I allowed myself to open it in Warsaw yesterday I have already prepared a (?reply). (?I have replied) to the main points of this letter, [words indistinct] I speak of that which is (?important), for we are awaiting a greater entry of the United States but precisely in the economic context and not the destruction of the bloc or through internal struggles. That is not the point. The point is economic development, which is not aimed against anyone, but rather helps or comes forward to everyone.

[Elizabeth Dole, in English with superimposed Polish translation] This letter was handed over by my husband. We are here to discuss many matters of mutual interest. Of course, from the point of view of the Department of Labor, I am carrying out the initiatives of President Bush to help, as best we can, in matters of priority for Poland amid the changes that are taking place here, and to assure welfare security for workers. Lying ahead of you is a truly difficult period when you will be converting from central planning to a market economy, a business-oriented economy. It will be a difficult period.

[Senator Dole, in English with superimposed Polish translation] There are people here interested in doing business with the United States, the establishment of banks and other possibilities. They want us to do business with them. They want to have benefits. They are, of course, interested in a certain amount of help but at the base is the need for Poland to do business, and I think that this is the main message of Mr Walesa.

[Walesa] In the United States there is great interest in Poland and I hope that these visits, of which there are so many, will encourage investors to more widely enter into Polish affairs. We can only all gain thereby. This is already taking place but we must speed it up for Polish society is ever more disturbed, ever more feels the burden of poverty. I hope that in the course of a year we will demonstrate, (?the people will) demonstrate, that Poland can be (?different), that Poland is up to the challenge, and in such company things can only get better. [end recording]

[Unidentified correspondent] One of the questions asked during this [word indistinct] news conference was: The Americans have allocated great sums for the defeat of communism. Will they now find some money to support the Polish experiment?

[Begin recording] [Senator Dole] We also have budget difficulties. I have already mentioned them this morning. We have other problems of our own, but Mr Walesa said that he would be happy if he were able to exchange his troubles for ours. And so, everything is relative. We will do that which is in our power, and we will surely not contribute to the downfall of the transformations in Poland.

[Walesa] The point is not the defeat of communism, for the [word indistinct] our economic system will cause the unblocking and not the braking of the development of [word indistinct]. And so our reforms, our steps, are in the interest of other countries, for they will allow us to take advantage of their achievement.

[Correspondent] Mrs Dole, [words indistinct] you will be visiting the Gdansk shipyard. Why does the U.S. labor secretary wish to visit this shipyard?

[Elizabeth Dole] This shipyard has very great significance. We have the greatest recognition, respect, and admiration for Mr Walesa, for his great influence on the direction of changes in his country. Visiting the shipyard, we want to meet with the workers and quite simply to spend some time in this very historic and important place.

[Correspondent] What is your opinion on the plans of Barbara Piasecka-Johnson?

[Elizabeth Dole] They sound very good. It is probably what you want to have happen, or at any rate most of it. After our return we will be encouraging her in this work. [end recording]

[Announcer] That was a short report from the meeting in Gdansk today between the Doles and Lech Walesa. Elizabeth and Robert Dole, accompanied by Lech Walesa, laid flowers at the monument to fallen shipyard workers and also visited, as was mentioned, the Gdansk Lenin shipyard. They discussed the prospects for the company formed with Barbara Piasecka-Johnson.

Walesa Calls for End to 'Economic Losses'

LD2508185589 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Interview with Lech Walesa, chairman of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity, by correspondent Tadeusz Mickiewicz, on 25 August; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Mickiewicz] Mr Chairman, what is your evaluation of yesterday's events?

[Walesa] In the past we shouted about strikes, about various struggles, that we wanted bread and freedom. It has happened that freedom came first—that is freedom from the point of view of democracy, for freedom can be attained in various ways. Poland has shown that this can be done in a cultured way, it can be done intelligently, and that one can reach the highest possible position. The achievement of the premier, who, only in May, slept with the workers in the shipyard on foam cushions under a table and is today the premier, our premier: this is a great political gain. On the other hand, there is as yet no bread.

Now, in the name of respect for each other we must do everything possible for things to really economically get better in this country. It is necessary to make some statement—I don't know what to call it—for all economic losses to cease. But, at the same time, for the problems behind the just protests, just demands, to be immediately resolved. We will probably appoint a joint mixed commission, of Solidarity and generally an inter-union one and a government one that will at lightning speed, within the bounds of possibility, attempt to even out these excesses. We must do this, and this will bring an end to struggle and economic losses. That is how it seems to me. That is what I will now start to seek at this moment.

Walesa Statement in Support of Mazowiecki

LD2508210289 Warsaw PAP in English 1906 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 25—The press office of the Solidarnosc chairman submitted to PAP Lech Walesa's statement which reads in part:

Two weeks ago I supported Tadeusz Mazowiecki's candidature for the post of Polish prime minister for I determined that Poland required a fundamental breakthrough without which we would not stop sliding down in economic and civilizational terms. Today we can say that this breakthrough has become a fact.

[Warsaw Television in Polish report on Walesa's statement at 1730 GMT on 25 August adds at this point: "Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki is one of us. His pedigree is the pain and protest of the world of working people which, pushed to the extreme, had no alternative but to struggle, even when this struggle brought economic losses. We have won this stage of the struggle, and we must leave it behind us."]

This does not mean, however, that problems have been solved. Working people are struggling with poverty, inequality and injustice. All these wrongs can and must be liquidated. This is all the more important as only some workers managed to win better pay conditions. This critical situation of workers requires radical moves on the part of the government, our government. At the same time, however, we must radically reduce economic losses which are a clear consequence of every strike action.

We must save Poland—not some people at the expense of others but together. We have been waiting for this chance for 45 years and we will not waste it today.

Solidarity Calls for 'Patience' for Mazowiecki

LD2508111589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] In response to yesterday's election of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, an appeal has been issued by the

Independent Self- Governing Trade Union Organization Solidarity enterprise association at one of the largest Bydgoszcz enterprises—the "Organica-Zachem" chemical works. The appeal, addressed to Solidarity members and to National Trade Union Alliance colleagues, calls on all working people to drop all kinds of protest and strike actions for 4 weeks.

The appeal says that for the first time there is a chance to form a government of all Poles. We must do everything to take advantage of this chance—everything means, above all, calm in Poland.

Let's therefore give our premier a bit of peace, which is necessary to form a cabinet and to present us with a program, which is going to be a program for Poland and all Poles. We owe Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki that little bit of trust, which we can only show in one way, by 4 weeks of patience.

Rakowski Conveys Congratulations to Mazowiecki

LD2508202889 Warsaw PAP in English 1928 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 25—PUWP CC [Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee] First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski conveyed today congratulations to Tadeusz Mazowiecki on the occasion of his appointment to the post of prime minister.

"I am aware of the magnitude of problems that your cabinet is going to face. On behalf of the PUWP Central Committee and of myself, I sincerely wish you success in performing your honourable and responsible mission," Rakowski wrote.

"Intentions to continue reforms of the Polish economic and political system declared by you are convergent in many points with the programmatic goals and actions undertaken by the PUWP in recent years. This creates favourable premises for our cooperation in the interest of Poland and Poles.

"A government of a broad coalition with participation of all parliamentary forces, now being formed, can count on the PUWP's support in all undertakings aimed at overcoming crisis in the country. I want to confirm that we do not intend to shun co-responsibility and in the spirit of partnership, we will actively participate in work of a new government according to possibilities created for that," the cable said.

CSSR Spokesman Wishes Mazowiecki Success

LD2508210189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Report by Prague correspondent Stanislaw Kaczmarski]

[Text] The Czechoslovak Government spokesman stated to journalists today that the Czechoslovak Government hoped the Polish premier would find a good recipe for solving the difficult problems he is taking up, while Czechoslovakia does not imagine that the strong historic and current ties should not continue to develop, as emphasized in the congratulatory dispatch from Premier Adamec.

The mouthpiece of the Czechoslovak Socialists notices that Premier Mazowiecki spoke in favor of cooperation with Czechoslovakia and the overcoming of all ambiguities and misunderstandings. In economic circles, however, there is talk of the difficulties awaiting the new prime minister and his government. Will a society that is tired of standing in line for bread and meat be capable of understanding and supporting the difficult decisions of the new prime minister? That is a question which, after seeing the lines in front of shops in Poland, [words indistinct] does not give an unequivocal answer.

Information in the press on the positive acceptance of and support for Tadeusz Mazowiecki in the East and West is assessed as a certain guarantee of the speedier achievement of the aim he has set himself. The attitude of society, however, as they are saying here, will be decisive.

Mazowiecki Appoints Ambroziak Under Secretary

LD2508202389 Warsaw PAP in English 1925 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 25—The chairman of the Council of Ministers appointed today Jacek Ambroziak undersecretary of state in the Council of Ministers office.

Jacek Ambroziak, 48, born in Warsaw, graduated from the law department of Warsaw University. He worked as judge and legal adviser. Recently, he was deputy editor-in-chief of the "TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC" weekly and, at the same time, legal adviser in the Secretariat of the Episcopate of Poland.

Mazowiecki Consults on New Government

AU2408130489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Aug 89 p 1

[PAP report: "Mazowiecki Meets and Talks With Representatives of Various Social Forces"]

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki, nominated by the president as chairman designate of the Council of Ministers, continued his talks and meetings on Monday, 21 August, with representatives of various political forces and social groupings in Poland.

T. Mazowiecki met with Aleksander Bentkowski, the chairman of the United Peasant Party's Deputies Club on Monday morning. The subject of the talks was cooperation within the coalition. He next received Elizabeth Mayenz-Basaq, second secretary of the French Embassy, who conveyed messages of congratulations from the French Prime Minister, Michel Rocard, and Roland Dumas, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

In the Warsaw headquarters of the Catholic Intellectuals Club [KIK] Mazowiecki met with the editorial staff of the monthly WIEZ, and people active in KIK, his long-time colleagues and friends. Among those present were Stanislawa Grabska, the deputy chairperson of KIK; Wojciech Sawicki, the treasurer of the club; Juliusz Eska, deputy editor-in-chief and member of the KIK presidium; Stefan Frankiewicz, the editor of WIEZ, and his deputy Cezary Gawrys; and Zbigniew Szpakowski, a member of the editorial board.

T. Mazowiecki also spoke by telephone with members of the editorial staff of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, and its editor Jerzy Turowicz.

He also met separately with Zenon Komender, the chairman of the Pax Association; Kazimierz Morawski, the chairman of the Christian- Social Union; and Wieslaw Gwizdz, chairman of the Polish Catholic-Social Union. The subject of the talks was the political situation in Poland and matters linked to the formation of the new government.

On Sunday, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who took part in the Gdansk meetings of the presidiums of the Citizens Parliamentary Club and "Solidarity's" National Executive Commission, also met with Bishop of Gdansk Tadeusz Goclowski.

He also talked with publicist Aleksander Hall of the Young Poland Movement.

On Sunday evening he held discussions with Lech Walesa, chairman of "Solidarity's" National Executive Commission.

Mazowiecki Interviewed on Possible Changes

LD2708195189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Interview with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki by correspondent Gabor Nemes on 26 August; place not given; from the "This Week" program; Mazowiecki speaks in Polish with superimposed Hungarian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Nemes] Mr Premier, you were also elected by deputies belonging to the Polish United Workers Party. Does this mean that you regard yourself as the premier of all Poles?

[Mazowiecki] Yes.

[Nemes] Of the Communists as well?

[Mazowiecki] Yes; after all, they voted for me. I received 370 votes.

[Nemes] Yes, I understand this, but you will have to change something. What is it that will be really new in Poland?

[Mazowiecki] For the moment, what is absolutely new is that the premier is as he is—that is, that he comes from the ranks of what used to be the opposition. I think that this is a great change which everyone will have to get used to. This is also true of the opposition—that is, the party which was in power up to now. In fact everyone will have to readjust, and if we all readjust this will be something very new.

[Nemes] As regards foreign policy, you have said that the line remains unchanged. But will there be new emphasis?

[Mazowiecki] My dear sir, as you also know, at the present time a process of European unification is under way. We Poles have always stressed that we regard ourselves as a part of Europe. I believe that we have to contribute more, more actively, to the process of building a common Europe. Beyond this, in my judgment we have to support not only relations between governments but also the development of relations between various social organizations, both West and East.

[Nemes] Obviously you have in mind contacts with the opposition.

[Mazowiecki] I am thinking of relations in general; after all we are no longer in opposition.

[Nemes] What sort of influence will the PZPR exert on the government's policies? In any case, will it have such an influence?

[Mazowiecki] I have said that the government which I shall form will be a government with a wide coalition basis. According to my intentions, the PZPR will also have to be part of this government. I regard this as absolutely necessary. After all, it is only with our forces united that we can pass through this historic first stage. It is possible that the way things develop will make one more powerful and the others will function in opposition; this will be something quite natural. However, this is not the situation as yet. Thus, we shall have to go through this period together. Those who participate in the wide coalition government also influence it.

[Nemes] You were proposed by Mr Walesa. What influence will he exert on the policies of the government?

[Mazowiecki] Mr Walesa wants to concentrate on building up the trade union at present, also on social activities, and in the future perhaps also on political activities, besides building up the trade union. As regards the formation of the government, my interpretation is that I have an entirely free hand in this. Of course, I shall consult with him. After all, he is someone in the country—he is the leader of Solidarity. Thus it is obvious that I shall consult with him, but this does not mean that I can be treated like a puppet.

[Nemes] You have said that there will be no witch-hunt inside the apparat. However, there are very many Communists inside the apparat. Presumably your friends from the ranks of what used to be the opposition are exerting strong pressure to bring their own cadres into this apparat. However, in order to bring new people in, others have to be kicked out.

[Mazowiecki] No doubt changes will have to be made. The leader of the PZPR faction, Professor Orzechowski, said during a conversation with me that as regards the apparat, it is a question of 900,000 people. My reply was that I understood this but one also had to think about the few million people who were not permitted into the sphere of power, and among whom there are also competent people. You see, sir, I think that making changes and having a witch-hunt are two different things. Making personnel changes is something quite natural. Of course, these changes will have to be based on competence and not on party membership.

[Nemes] Do you want the cadres of Solidarity to enter the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Interior as well?

[Mazowiecki] You know, we have no generals as yet. On the other hand, I would not exclude the possibility that Solidarity may enter the Ministry of Defense—even if not as generals—and perhaps also in the Ministry of Interior, as civilians. I do not know, we shall see.

[Nemes] Let us now turn to the most serious issue, namely the economy. Will you tell the Poles that in order to overcome the crisis they first have to lower their standard of living?

[Mazowiecki] You know it would please me if others helped in saying this so that it is not me who ruins people's enthusiasm. I should motivate people. In any case, I do not know whether it is necessary that we should live even less well. Perhaps there will not be an immediate improvement, but I hope that we will avoid things becoming even worse.

Mazowiecki Views Economic Crisis, Problems

LD2708112589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Interview with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki by Warsaw correspondent Gabor Nemes; date not given; Mazowiecki speaking in Polish fading into Hungarian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Presenter] Our Warsaw correspondent, Gabor Nemes, is the first foreigner to whom Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the new Polish premier, has granted an interview since his appointment:

[Begin recording] [Mazowiecki] I think the most important question that people pose today in Poland is that of whether they have a chance at all. Can their situation improve? Can we move away from the nadir of the economic crisis? Of course, not straight away, for there are no wonders in the economy, but all the same, we must move off, for we got into the state when we no longer went forward, but everything started to fall apart, indeed it did fall apart. Along with this, I think development and advances will definitely be the [word indistinct] of democracy and constitutional statehood in Poland.

[Nemes] But with regard to the economy, can you see the light at the end of the tunnel yet? Or will it perhaps be even a little worse for the time being?

[Mazowiecki] I only see what is necessary. I think we have already said everything about how bad the situation is. But, we have not yet spoken enough about how hard it will be to get out of this. So, I am worried about one thing: I do not know if people understand that we need time. I do believe however—and this is an important factor in itself too—that people feel that something has changed here now. And Polish people do like to be told the truth.

[Nemes] And do you not fear that your worries will mount up precisely in your own camp, with the Solidarity masses? For they do not expect the truth from you now, but an improvement in their circumstances.

[Mazowiecki] I am reckoning with us not having fundamental problems, but of course there will always be some kind of problem. It is understandable, in the end, that Solidarity, as a trade union, always sees things from a different angle from a government. And, it tries to correct the stance of the government, even if this is a Solidarity government. The main thing is that these various stances can be expressed, be articulated. There can be differences, but of course not fundamental insurmountable ones. At least, I am counting on things being like this.

[Nemes] But in the end, every leader of government has to at some time take a stand against strikes.

[Mazowiecki] Yes. You know, when I left the building of the Council of Ministers at dawn this morning, I then had talks with the strike committee, precisely about the extremely dangerous railway strike which has paralyzed the economy. And you see, in the end the strike committee suspended the strike. [end recording]

[Presenter] This was an interview with Poland's first non-communist premier. Tadeusz Mazowiecki had a longer conversaton with Gabor Nemes.

LE MONDE Interviews Mazowiecki on Plans

PM2308161989 Paris LE MONDE in French 23 Aug 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki by Sylvie Kauffmann in Warsaw: "'It Is Important To Tell People the Truth Even If the Truth Appears Difficult'"—date not given]

[Text] Warsaw—[Kauffmann] What point have you reached in your negotiations with the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] regarding the composition of the government?

[Mazowiecki] Today I met with the chairman of the ZSL [United Peasant Party] parliamentary group. Tomorrow I am seeing the chairmen of the SD [Democratic Party] parliamentary group and the PZPR parliamentary

group. But all these negotiations are still at the initial stage. First of all, parliament must appoint the prime minister. I am only prime minister-designate; I will only move on to real negotiations once this has been done.

[Kauffmann] There is talk of six portfolios for the PZPR.

[Mazowiecki] Personally, I have made no promise. Possibilities have already been sketched out, but the real negotiations have not started. I am going to form a broad coalition government, and I would not like to push the PZPR into a position of rejection or opposition; I would like to open cooperation talks on the basis of new principles which must not destabilize the country but, on the contrary, lead it onto the road of normality. There is no question of destabilizing or threatening the state; we must arrive at the normal phenomena of political life.

[Kauffmann] What danger would a marginalized PZPR present?

[Mazowiecki] It is a matter of avoiding a trap. The government must be able to work in tranquillity. Our country is a member of the Warsaw Pact and the government must be totally responsible. We must take into account the situation both outside and inside the country. A great many of the people within the state apparatus have hitherto been linked with the camp of the authorities. So the transition to a normal situation must be made consistently but step by step.

A PZPR and OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] that were driven into an attitude of rejection would pose a serious threat to the normal functioning of the government. That is the danger. Of course, at a time of profound changes I do not imagine for a second that we are not going to be faced with difficulties. But these must be the normal difficulties of the transition from a totalitarian system to a democratic system, not a situation of blockage caused by a logic of struggle.

Perhaps you find me naive. But you see, we have to begin somewhere... We cannot sweep everything away at a stroke, but we can do a great deal. We must simply see that all political forces abandon aggressive attitudes.

[Kauffmann] You mentioned the Warsaw Pact; certain member countries of that organization are giving a very negative reception to the recent Polish innovations. Does this worry you?

[Mazowiecki] The government which I form will in fact maintain relations with all the Pact countries and will respect all the alliances.

[Kauffmann] What limits, implicit or explicit, has the USSR imposed on you?

[Mazowiecki] You must certainly be aware of all the statements made in Moscow recently; I am also familiar with them, and I know nothing more on this subject. I find that the (Soviet) reaction is a sympathetic reaction demonstrating a good understanding of the changes in Poland, just as we understand the changes in the Soviet Union.

[Kauffmann] Do you intend to visit Moscow?

[Mazowiecki] As yet I have no plans for foreign travel... But I cannot imagine a Polish prime minister not going to Moscow. Moreover, this country, which I have never visited, interests me greatly; some time ago I received a private invitation to go there, and I was enormously pleased at this prospect.

The President's Prerogatives

[Kauffmann] Let us return to your government; aren't you afraid that Solidarity voters may take a very dim view of this "broad coalition" in which the PZPR will retain important posts? How are you going to explain it to them?

[Mazowiecki] The important thing is to tell people the truth. I want to be guided by this principle in particular in explaining to them the reasons for the composition of the government, and I believe they will trust me.

[Kauffmann] That implies that you have control over the media...

[Mazowiecki] The government that I am going to head has means of communication. Remember who defended media pluralism during the roundtable; I have not changed. I am not going to deny people access to television, nor allow the forces that have hitherto been shut out to remain so forever. After all, the media are under the authority of the government, and therefore of the prime minister.

[Kauffmann] Aren't you afraid that General Jaruzelski, who already has very broad powers, will surround himself with a strong team in the presidency of the republic and will thereby limit your scope for maneuver?

[Mazowiecki] My meeting with the president gave me no inkling of any such intention. For my part, I will strictly respect the president's constitutional powers.

[Kauffmann] A month ago in your weekly TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC you wrote a very closely researched article opposing Solidarity participation in government in response to an earlier article by Adam Michnik, who had floated the idea of a Solidarity prime minister. What made you change your mind?

[Mazowiecki] I haven't changed my mind. It is the situation that has changed extremely rapidly. I thought it would evolve more slowly. The situation accelerated while I was out of the country on a short vacation with friends in Belgium. When I got back I must admit I had to revise my position.

The Church's Attitude

[Kauffmann] You seem to be hoping that something will click mentally with the population to make it support your action. What might cause this click?

[Mazowiecki] Today the strikers in Police have announced that they are calling off their strike to help

the government. I am very grateful to them, just as I am very grateful to my friend Wladyslaw Frasyniuk [Solidarity national leadership member] for stating on television that Solidarity must now call for the greatest understanding. And above all I am counting on the attitude and the trust of Lech Walesa, who is the initiator and the architect of these changes, I think he is going to help people to understand what we want.

Then there is also the attitude of the church, as expressed by Cardinal Glemp, whom I went to see immediately after my meeting with President Jaruzelski; he assured me I could count on the church's understanding.

Why should I not legitimately count on the hope that my compatriots will understand the extremely difficult role which we must play and that such a huge fundamental change will continue, something unparalleled in 40 years? People must also understand that, given a normal state life, it is not the state that has to do everything. The role of the government and the administration is to create opportunities for individual action. I believe that if we can get people to realize that, what will change will be a kind of philosophy of attitudes regarding the state. It will no longer be a stifling state or a state that guarantees everything, but a state that regulates and facilitates human activity.

[Kauffmann] How are you going to set about explaining to the population that the gravity of the economic situation necessitates sacrifices?

[Mazowiecki] Telling the truth will enable public opinion to express itself and to subject certain people to public judgment from time to time. This will be our method. If this government is incapable of realizing that, it will have to resign. After all, it is not eternal...

[Kauffmann] Like many people in Poland, do you think that the country is in ruins?

[Mazowiecki] There has already been much talk on this theme in Poland. But now we can no longer content ourselves with saying things are going very badly. The time has come to say how we can extricate ourselves from our predicament, even if this truth appears difficult.

[Kauffmann] You just mentioned your interview with Monsignor Glemp. You are Poland's first postwar Catholic head of government at a time when the church too has its first Polish pope. Do you envisage closer cooperation between the church and the government?

[Mazowiecki] The church in Poland is a great moral authority; it is also a stabilizing force. Every government must reckon with the church, with its voice, with its opinion. Personally, I am a believer who sees in the church's contemporary teaching more an openness toward the human problem, the most important of social problems.

In Poland, the church has been a great spokesman for human rights. Now we have arrived at a situation in which the prime minister is going to be both a representative of Solidarity and a believer. It is a particular responsibility for me to remain loyal to this faith, to this opening up of the Christian attitude. At the same time I will be the head of a government that must be the government of all the Poles, whatever their beliefs, Protestants, members of the Orthodox Church, Jews, and also those who are remote from the church, agnostics and atheists. I have fought for tolerance toward Catholics, and I intend to respect the imperative of tolerance toward others. For this government, there can be no different categories of citizens, and that is the only kind of government I can be prime minister of.

Nomenklatura and Competence

[Kauffmann] How are you going to overcome the obstacle of the nomenklatura in order to govern?

[Mazowiecki] I think that in Poland we need major changes which must result in a situation in which it is clear that competence is the sole factor in obtaining a post. I would not like to allow feelings of mistrust of a large number of people to become established. It must also be realized that an economic apparatus and a state apparatus cannot be created overnight. Moreover, I hope that this apparatus is going to serve the government honestly, although my predecessor as prime minister from the PZPR complained latterly that the administrative apparatus was dragging its feet. I think that we must be very consistent on the principle of competence. But we have to be reasonable with regard to the application of this principle.

[Kauffmann] Some members of the Solidarity leadership did not hide the fact that their preference was for Mr Geremek as prime minister. Does that bother you?

[Mazowiecki] When Lech Walesa spoke to me of his three possible candidates I told him I had nothing against the idea of him proposing the other two, Bronislaw Geremek and Jacek Kuron. After my talk with the president of the republic and then with the primate, my first visit was to Bronislaw Geremek, who is president of the Solidarity parliamentary group. I talked with him as president of the group and I shall do so again when necessary. We had a very good discussion and I believe I have his complete support as president of the group. You know, there are many people of personal worth who are better than I. It is obvious that Bronislaw Geremek could cope with this task. But that is how it has happened and now we must start. I believe I can count on the support of everyone in solidarity.

Western Aid

[Kauffmann] What do you expect from the Western governments and from France in particular?

[Mazowiecki] I was very touched and even moved by such a rapid response from Prime Minister Michel Rocard and Foreign Minister Roland Dumas. Other responses from Western capitals are sources of optimism for me. Poland can and must be aided. We do not want free aid but I am convinced there are fields in which we

can really start to collaborate in an effective and honest manner and that many things depend on this.

Above all I hope that Poland's friends will understand that they must not wait for us to drown or be suffocated by our difficulties but that we must start cooperation which will enable our economy to get out of the quagmire, which will make it possible for our ecological situation never to be as tragic again, which will enable this nation, which is at the center of Europe, to take the road of modernity in the cultural and scientific fields. I am convinced that this expectation is not unfounded.

Our specialists will have to think quite rapidly about these things so as to make clear what we expect and to meet with specialists from the Western countries and the IMF so that we can discuss the matter together and go on to decisions which will be very important for Poland. For instance, our science is very backward, our cultural institutions are collapsing, the government which I shall form will not be able to finance all this immediately. It could be facilitated not necessarily through governments but by various institutions or foundations. A great deal can be done to help Poland.

Interview With Mazowiecki on Tasks as Premier

AU2308122689 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 21 Aug 89 p 1

[Interview with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, premier designate, by an unidentified GAZETA WYBORCZA reporter: "The New Premier Speaks"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Question] How do you feel in your position as premier?

[Mazowiecki] My first reaction was that of someone who has just had 100 kg loaded onto his back. I quickly recovered, though, and began to consider it with a certain optimism, otherwise, I would not have been able to accept the task.

[Question] Why are you so optimistic?

[Mazowiecki] There is a joke about Pope John XXIII. He was asleep and dreaming about all the things he still had to do; finish this and do that. At that moment in his dream God appears and speaks: Giovanni, don't take yourself so seriously.

But seriously, you have asked where my optimism comes from. I will not be able to do everything, because that is impossible. But I will do all that is possible and what needs to be done.

[Question] Did the offer of the premiership surprise you?

[Mazowiecki] Completely. I had only returned from holiday a week before.

[Question] Talking of the present changes, you used the words "new political principle"....

[Mazowiecki] Yes. We are moving toward a situation where not one but various political forces can form the government. This is a transition to normality. You are in government one time, and another time you are in opposition.

[Question] You also spoke of a "broad coalition."

[Mazowiecki] To put the country back on its feet we need a broad formula for government, something that Lech Walesa spoke about, a government open to all forces represented in government.

[Question] But there is no agreement yet on the composition of the government among the members of the coalition?

[Mazowiecki] This is the next phase, which has to happen quickly. I understand that time is pressing, but I would like to be understood. I cannot act hastily.

[Question] As premier, what will your first decisions be?

[Mazowiecki] To prepare our position vis-a-vis the IMF, which will make its decisions in autumn. Before that, of course, the formation of the new government.

[Question] "Our Premier" means the end of the present system of rule....

[Mazowiecki] I would like it to be a beginning, and the tasks of the government and the central authorities ought to be to open up certain possibilities, and not regulate everything. We must depart from the principle of the almighty state and give people the opportunity to act in all spheres.

[Question] From the very inception of "Solidarity" you have been one of its most illustrious activists. How do you see the relationship between "Solidarity" and the government now developing?

[Mazowiecki] I was pleased to note that the first reaction of the presidium of the "Solidarity" National Commission is readiness to help.

[Question] This is reminiscent of the reactions of the Central Council of Trade Unions [CRZZ].

[Mazowiecki] In economic questions one has to be guided by effectiveness. But the union's viewpoint, namely, the protection of the weakest, has to be respected. This will be hammered out in practice. If it becomes necessary to make a choice between effectiveness and the interests of the union, we shall have to fall back on public opinion. If it becomes necessary to introduce stringent measures, people must first accept them.

[Question] What are you going to do so that people can feel that something has really changed?

[Mazowiecki] Do you not think that the fact we have a first non-party premier in 40 years is already a sign that something has really changed?

Solidarity Daily Views Mazowiecki's Character

AU2308161589 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 21 Aug 89 p 4

[Kazimierz Woycicki commentary: "Mister Tadeusz"]

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki was not the most visible of "Solidarity" activists until today. He never tried to make himself heard. However, he is one of the longest-serving people among the ranks of those who formed a democratic opposition. He also took part in practically every major activity that has led to the present revival of Polish society. For many years, his monthly WIEZ [LINK], allied to TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY and the "Znak" ["Sign"] group of Catholic intelligentsia clubs, was one of the most serious platforms of the independent written word. Mazowiecki has never expressed himself in sharp terms. However, he was very stubborn in voicing his principles, among which democracy assumed first place. As a result, WIEZ was constantly haunted by the censor, and the authorities threatened to close down the paper on more than one occasion.

It is worth stressing that, as editor in chief of WIEZ, Mazowiecki was always loyal to the church and totally aloof to the authorities. He was an advocate and exponent of reforms to the church, in the spirit of the Second Vatican Council. He enjoyed great trust and respect from Cardinal Wyszynski. This trust and respect was earned by, among other things, disputes and discussions.

March 1968 was a time of particular trial. Mazowiecki was the co-author of the controversial deputy's motion condemning the anti-semitic campaign by some of the authorities and the persecution of students.

The middle of the 1970's saw a growth of the civic rights movement. Mazowiecki initiated a protest by "Znak" Catholic circles against the amendments to the Polish Constitution, one of which established the Polish United Workers Party's leading role. He protested against the persecution of the workers of Radom and Ursus. He was the spokesman of those who staged a hunger strike at the church of St Marcin in protest at the arrest of activists of the democratic opposition in 1978. Then came August 1980 in Gdansk, TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, internment....

I said that Mazowiecki has been seen very little as an activist of his present stature. He is not a man of the media, which is the art of many politicians. He wins over people mainly by means of direct conversation. That also applies to his foreign contacts. Perhaps the press is not widely acquainted with him, but he does enjoy extensive contacts with European politicians which he established during his travels. Judging from his own writings and the tone of the articles carried by the publications he edits, he is a supporter of open dialogue between the Poles and their neighbors.

In no way is Mazowiecki an ideologist, nor is he is a political visionary. He does not make grand promises. However, he is extremely capable of concentrating on hard facts in his activity and carefully planning every move he makes, mindful not only of their immediate consequences, but later consequences as well.

One might ask whether we need someone else as head of government, someone easily able to stir up a new kind of enthusiasm inside us. After all, we need to overcome our lack of faith in the future. But Mazowiecki is not a politician who believes in collective enthusiasm. What he does have is the courage to make difficult decisions, which is more important than an ability to arouse enthusiasm. Difficult decisions means the kind that do not please everyone straight away. I think Mazowiecki is acquiring this courage thanks to his trust in people, his trust that they are capable of using their own intelligence and being responsible. He will gain our trust not through his adroitness, but through the seriousness of his own attitudes.

Mazowiecki is a democrat who believes that it is not the government's task to direct society, but to create conditions for them to act independently. I believe this conviction of Mazowiecki's is firmly rooted in his Christian milieu.

Solidarity's Geremek Views New Government

AU2508113889 Vienna WOCHENPRESSE in German 25 Aug 89 pp 38-39

[Interview with Bronislaw Geremek, leader of the Solidarity group in the Polish parliament, by Walter Osztovics: "We Are Facing a Radical Change"—date, place not given]

[Text] WOCHENPRESSE: Mr Geremek, founded as a resistance movement, Solidarity has now suddenly come to power. Does this mean that the historic breakthrough has been successful?

Geremek: Everything depends on the success of this government. Our national economy is about to collapse, the population's patience is exhausted. If Mazowiecki were to fail it would be very dangerous for our country. This government must and will bring about economic improvements within 1 year, only small ones, but still big enough so that a glimmer of hope will emerge.

WOCHENPRESSE: How are you going to improve the supply situation, for example, in such a short period of time?

Geremek: In this field in particular it is relatively easy to succeed. Agriculture is largely in private hands. However, there is a monopoly on the supply of machines, seeds, and fertilizers on the one hand, and the marketing of agricultural products on the other. This requires a number of quick political decisions. Nevertheless, even within 1 year the Polish agricultural sector should be able to feed the population. This development would also have to force a change of the industrial structure. I am

referring to abandoning heavy industry, and the promotion of the processing industry and those branches that work for the agricultural sector.

WOCHENPRESSE: This means that the reform will concentrate on agriculture?

Geremek: The center of the crisis in Poland lies in industry. However, the symptoms that are visible for the population are the shortages in the food sector. Thus, by improving the supply situation we will win people's confidence for the subsequent reform steps and the necessary sacrifices for them.

WOCHENPRESSE: Mazowiecki has declared that Poland will make efforts to obtain aid from abroad. This is exactly what the Polish Governments did in the seventies. The country today is still affected by the foreign aid of that time. What is going to become of the Polish national indebtedness?

Geremek: I cannot anticipate the government in this respect. However, one must certainly not repeat the mistakes of the seventies. What we want is the privatization of the economy, joint ventures, and money for concrete investment programs. We do not want to invest money in the private sector, because this sector is still too small for it, but we want to invest in further privatization. As to reducing the current debts, international groups could take over Poland's liabilities at the real market value and not at the excessive nominal value. Thus, these groups would become the owners of Polish industrial enterprises, and consequently they would further stimulate privatization.

WOCHENPRESSE: Austria is one of the largest creditor nations. Poland pays its debts mainly by supplying coal; however, during the past winters these supplies came under sharp criticism, particularly from Solidarity, because of coal shortages at home. Are you going to change these contracts?

Geremek: The export of coal is basically no problem. The problem is the decreasing production rate and increasing production cost. The people also believe that we can export to the West without any problem, because at least they pay us good money for it. The people say it is important that the coal does not go to the East, where the state even has to subsidize supplies. There is, however, one problem, namely that Poland does not have any coal reserves for next winter, because the loans for purchasing stocks of coal cannot be financed, since the banks charge 60 percent interest.

WOCHENPRESSE: Let us turn to another question: Will Solidarity eventually develop into a real party, and will this party be social democratic, Christian, or liberal?

Geremek: The word "party" is not very popular in Poland. "Christian-Social Party" sounds like a contradiction in itself in Polish. Therefore, Solidarity wants to develop a pluralistic structure on the basis of the many regional citizens' committees that have been founded. Lech Walesa will head it. There are, of course, different wings within Solidarity. Nevertheless, one general feature is the attachment to Christian values. Against this background there are several options. Economic questions are dominated by liberal ideas; questions of political ethics are dominated rather by Christian and democratic ideas. The social democratic tendency is only slightly developed, although the value of social justice ranks very high in our movement.

WOCHENPRESSE: Many people here in Poland believe Tadeusz Mazowiecki's Cabinet will only be a transition government.

Geremek: Quite the contrary is true. We are facing a radical change, even concerning the principle of exercising power. We have always stressed that Solidarity is not interested in the posts of ministers, but in establishing new standards for exercising state power and breaking the monopoly of the party. This is exactly what has been achieved by appointing the Mazowiecki government.

WOCHENPRESSE: The Communist Party has dominated the country for 40 years also in the social sphere. Can such an influence be forced back in a short time?

Geremek: Nobody can seriously answer this question for the time being. We in Solidarity have thought that one has to give the Communist Party time to adapt to the changed circumstances, so that the discussion does not become an existential question, a question of "us or them," as was the case in Kabul. However, it turned out that this is not possible. Now we have formed a government with the participation of Communists, which the population does not want. Even Lech Wales said that "it would actually be better if there were no Communists in the government." If such a statement is made it means that there is actually no longer any room for this party in civilian society. Of course, one might be tempted to resort to the armed forces. However, I think that this is practically impossible in the current political situation in the world.

WOCHENPRESSE: Yet what will happen if Gorbachev falls?

Geremek: We hope that he will not fall.

WOCHENPRESSE: Despite your reservations, you have left the Interior and Defense Ministries to the Communist Party. With the help of the police and the Army a communist coup could be launched at any time.

Geremek: This is why we form this coalition. Those who are in a coalition have to accept part of the responsibility. I know that the group of the Communist Party in Parliament includes democratically-minded forces, even though it is not clear whether these are of any importance within the party as a whole. Moreover, the office of state president assures that the Warsaw Pact observes its guarantees. After all, the state president has control over the military and police forces.

WOCHENPRESSE: Will Bronislaw Geremek become a minister?

Geremek: Most certainly not.

UPP Briefs Members on Meeting With OKP

LD2408203789 Warsaw PAP in English 1403 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 24—Chairman of the Parliamentary Floor Group of the United Peasants' Party Aleksander Bentkowski briefed today the group's members on his meeting earlier today with leaders of the Citizens' Parliamentary Group (OKP) and the Democratic Party's group, deputy chairwoman of the UPP floor group Teresa Liszcz told PAP.

"I can only say that we still hope to fill the posts of a vice-premier and of four ministers and possibly to head one of the central offices," she said.

UPP Daily Urges Disbanding of PRON

LD2508154289 Warsaw PAP in English 1140 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 25—"Today, in the time of renewing and reforming the structures of power and state there is a certain link that found itself on the margin of reforms, i.e., the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth PRON," writes Wieslaw M. Kornasiewicz in today's United Peasants' Party [UPP] daily "DZIENNIK LUDOWY".

"PRON's basic drawback was the fact that as early as at its birth the movement included so-called Catholics committed to socialist ideology and people of 'Nomenklatura' who already did not fit into top authorities of their parties, but did not meet the criteria to be offerd posts abroad yet. Such a selection of cadres and activists led to the fact that this organisation was rejected by society, to say nothing of the patriotically oriented elites of the opposition. Moreover, in its serviceableness to the authorities, the PRON went so far that it became an empty and dead formula. In a nutshell: It represented only itself or rather its full-time employees," Kornasiewicz writes and adds: "The anachronism of that organisation is so advanced that it should disbanded."

"Those who have ever been interested in the PRON or had to do with it in any other way, know that posts and expences of this bureaucratic machinery are paid with social money. One should add tonnes of paper, occupied rooms which for one could be used by local social organisations. Can we, as a society, afford such a great fiction in the times of common shortages and thriftiness?" the author concludes.

SD's Janowski Calls for Unity Among Reformers

LD2508173189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1043 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Speech by Democratic Party Deputy Jan Janowski at session of the Polish Sejm in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Mr Speaker, may it please the House! The process of evolutionary reform of the state and the economy which began as a result of the roundtable decisions, is now at the next stage of development. Inspired by the innovative program of the 14th congress, our Democratic Party [SD] is aware of the opportunity to carry out real reforms: political, economic, and social. For this reason, it is the cocreator of the new coalition that will form a government to save the country's fundamental substance. The talks concerning the new coalition have taken place in the spirit of the roundtable agreements. The accusations of betrayal of those principles we see, therefore, as a failure to understand the transformations taking place. The change in the coalition line-up, in which our party is participating because of the protracted crisis, shows that Poland is effectively changing, in the direction of full parliamentary democracy.

The SD takes upon itself joint responsibility for the new government becoming a guarantor of international decisions and all earlier obligations; for its safeguarding a sovereign Poland, independent in its existence.

But the most important task today, we believe, is the uniting of all reforming forces in order to save the country. To overcome the crisis phenomena, we must set in motion new machinery for developing our national estate, in both the sociopolitical and the economic spheres. We declare our participation in this work.

Despite the distinctly better climate surrounding Poland in the international arena, we do not see the improvement of our economy only in terms of financial aid from Western partners and international financial institutions. We have to solve our problems primarily using our own resources. Conditions must be created for genuine and not just formal enterprise; for giving society an identity in the economic sphere. Under the conditions of change in the relations of ownership in the economy, we as the SD, are vitally interested in the development of small and medium-sized enterprises.

May it please the House! Solving the problems of economic, social, and political life demands a great deal of persistence, wisdom, and above all consistency. We think the coalition government led by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki will have all these characteristics. However, it must be backed up by public confidence, by the cooperation of state administrative bodies at all levels, as well as by our parliamentary action. We are confident that, together with other reforming forces, we will manage to bring about a successful solution to Poland's economic and social problems. With these aims in view, it is also essential to widely tap our citizens' intellectual potential; but first and foremost, we must—all of us,

Poles—give our hearts, minds, and all our strength. Society expects normalization of all spheres of life. This will depend above all on halting inflation and putting the money-market economy in order.

Citizen deputies, in the profound belief that the new chairman of the Council of Ministers will head a government that will enjoy society's full confidence, the SD Parliamentary Floor Group gives its full support to Mr Tadeusz Mazowiecki in the work of forming this government. Thank you.

ZSL's Bentkowski Calls for Equality in Sejm

LD2508174889 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1039 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Speech by United Peasant Party Deputy Aleksandr Bentkowski at session of the Polish Sejm in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Speaker, esteemed chamber. It was barely a week ago that the new coalition was born, a coalition of courage, of hope, and above all a coalition of concern for Poland. We have destroyed the hitherto situation not for a political game nor to create a coup, but in order to create something new, something which will make us credible and which gives satisfaction to those who, on 4 June, effected that kind of choice and not any other. We peasant party activists have created a new coalition from the heart and out of common sense and the unanimity in the voting proves how strong is our conviction that it is the only solution, and most probably the last, that the nation can believe in.

We have been motivated by the noble aim of saving the homeland. We have not waited for any kind of agreements to be written. We have totally trusted our partners and we adopted a relevant resolution at the moment when the Citizens Parliamentary Club was still discussing the expediency of the coalition. Our sincerity of intention cannot give rise to any doubts that we will meet with a warm-hearted response, that we are going to be regarded as equal partners. We possess a majority of votes which is imperative for the coalition. It is at our joint disposal. It shall only not be used by us when we feel ourselves to be underestimated or when our arguments are not recognized. Arguments that will always be the most important for us peasant activists: democratic Poland, equality of civic rights, joint government, and caring for the creation of conditions for peasants to produce enough food for all Poles.

Today, more than 42 years after the brutal destruction of the Polish Peasant Party, peasant activists again want and can really jointly manage Poland. It is an important time for us, as we are on the eve of deep changes in our party, and now we have the possibility to give proof of our independence and credibility, to convince everyone that we peasant party activists of this age are worthy inheritors of the idea and platform of the Polish Peasant Party, worthy of realizing the ideals of the great leaders Wincenty Witos, Maciej Rataj, and Stansilaw Mikolajczyk.

We support Mr Tadeusz Mazowiecki as candidate for premier in the Polish People's Republic. We know that he is the most able to submit to that great task and we know that the state of Poland requires that we all save it. We peasant activists call for unity in this chamber. That unity and the will to create a better Poland will shine out from parliament to the whole county. Let ideology remain the private matter of each of us. Let the convictions that this time we will build the homeland of our dreams unite us. [applause]

PZPR Views Formation of New Government

AU2308162189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Aug 89 p 1

["Stance of the PZPR Central Committee on the Formation of a New Government and the Current Political Situation" adopted at the 14th PZPR Central Committee Plenum held in Warsaw on 19 August]

[Text] The situation in Poland has become dangerously exacerbated.

The political blueprint for evolutionary institutional change that was negotiated at the "roundtable" has been upset. Citizens are becoming increasingly bitter and tired as a result of prolonged economic and political instability. Factories have once again become the scene of political strikes. The formation of a new government that will enjoy broad national confidence has to proceed with the greatest of urgency. This government will have to address Poland's real problems, deal with the day-to-day difficulties of working people, stimulate economic life, and ensure social calm.

Only a government that is composed of representatives of all the political forces represented in the Polish People's Republic [PPR] Sejm can lead Poland out of the crisis by way of evolutionary, consistent reforms. Alliances whose formation is dictated by short-term considerations can be no substitute for a grand coalition government. Those who advocate forging such alliances will not be able to shirk their share of responsibility for the present situation.

The Central Committee contends that by agreeing to form a coalition without the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], the leaders of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and Democratic Party [SD] parliamentary caucuses have broken the agreement on the distribution of political forces within the Sejm. The distribution of seats between the PZPR, the ZSL, and SD, as well as lay Catholic and Christian organizations was based on the assumption that the alliance was not of a short-term kind and was not to be the subject of political maneuvering. If this agreement, which was affirmed by the Cooperation Commission on numerous occasions, ends in a fiasco, those who have initiated the dissolution of the coalition that has existed until now will assume historic responsibility for discarding an opportunity to effect the country's transition to an era of a new economic and political

order with as little conflict as possible. Setting out on a path of confrontation with the PZPR cannot serve the country's interests.

Since the beginning of the 1970's, having critically assessed the essence of coalition cooperation as it has evolved over the years, the PZPR has supported an increase in the importance of the ZSL and SD in the process of government and has championed their strong representation in the present parliament. The programmatic initiatives of these two parties have played an important role in the policies of the present government. This is borne out by, for example, the deregulation of the food economy, which is something that the ZSL has long been resolutely campaigning for. The PZPR is counting on further coalition cooperation with members of the ZSL and the SD who are faithful to the ideals of the "roundtable" and the accords that were concluded at it.

The Central Committee appreciates the readiness of "Solidarity" to assume joint responsibility for the genuine and not the sham resolution of Polish problems. This creates a qualitatively new opportunity for winning social acceptance of the costs that reforms inevitably entail.

None of the main political forces in the country—neither the PZPR nor "Solidarity"—can cope with the dangers that exist and lead the country out of collapse by itself, let alone by acting against each other. Partner-like cooperation between these two forces—cooperation that is free from prejudice—can become a qualitatively new fact in the history of Poland.

PZPR representation in the new government must be commensurate with its political and state potential. If this is not the case, we will not be able to assume joint responsibility for the course that events take.

A condition for our support for the new government is the conclusion of agreement on a programmatic platform and political structure before the new premier is called to office by the Sejm. At the same time, we express our readiness to seek new solutions and the essential agreements on personnel and programmatic matters.

The Central Committee calls on PZPR members and all people on the left to support evolutionary changes and the rules for the realization of these changes, which were set out at the 10th Central Committee plenum and agreed on at the "roundtable." At the same time, the Central Committee calls on party members and all citizens to muster all their energy in order to counter attempts to exploit the current situation with a view to destabilizing the state and undermining Poland's fundamental institutional principles and its role in the community of socialist states. Poland must remain an economically and militarily reliable member of CEMA and the Warsaw Pact. Our membership of the Warsaw Pact has been a guarantee of national security for several decades.

The Central Committee charges all party cells with vigorously countering all attempts to belittle the achievements of working people, as well as unjustified attacks on state and economic administrative personnel and on the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs in particular.

The Central Committee approves and acknowledges proposals submitted by the PZPR Deputies Caucus aimed at formulating a concept for a new government. At the same time, the Central Committee calls for the active realization of this stance in the Sejm.

We ask the president of the PPR to take account of this Central Committee stance in taking action aimed at forming a new government.

[Signed] The PZPR Central Committee

Warsaw, 19 August 1989

Rakowski Comments on Results of 19 Aug Plenum

AU2308160389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Aug 89 p 1

[Statement by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, to an unnamed TRYBUNA LUDU reporter at the 14th Polish United Workers Party Central Committee Plenum held in Warsaw on 19 August: "Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski Speaks to TRYBUNA LUDU"]

[Text] During the course of the plenum, we asked the Central Committee first secretary what the main reason was for Saturday's [19 August] sudden meeting. He said:

"There are at least two reasons. First, we have to decide whether our party is to participate in a government organized and led by the opposition or not, and if it is to, then on what terms should it participate. We also have to consider what we should do next. What kind of alliances should we seek, and how should we not only preserve, but bolster the strength of the party under these new circumstances? These decisions cannot be made by the Politburo alone, because the responsibility is too great.

"The second reason is no less important. Hundreds of thousands of comrades all over Poland are waiting to hear what the Central Committee thinks about matters of key importance not only for the party, but also for the country as a whole. Are we capitulating, or are we preparing to do battle? Are we abandoning socialist values, or are we ready to defend them?

"I am convinced, on the basis of the course of the discussion, that the Central Committee response will accord with the expectations of that section of the party that does not want to throw in the towel."

Jaruzelski Receives Organization Chairmen

LD2108184889 Warsaw PAP in English 1711 GMT 21 Aug 89

["President Receives Jerzy Ozdowski"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 21—President Wojciech Jaruzelski today received chairman of the Association of Poles Wronged by the 3rd Reich and of the "Responsibility and Deed" society to discuss the aims and methods of work of both organisations.

Orzechowski Interviewed on New Government

LD2708134889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer] We are hosting Professor Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Parliamentary Floor Group. Professor, at this moment a completely new political situation has arisen, which induces one to consider the situation of the party and also the situation of the PZPR Parliamentary Floor Group in this new situation. Facts that we all know and that we have discussed in our programs have transpired—facts as generally known as that Mazowiecki is the first premier not from the Workers Party—but there have also been such occurrences as the proposal from a group of deputies from the PZPR Parliamentary Floor Group to change the clause in the Constitution relating to the leading role of the party. What transpires from this?

[Orzechowski] There are so many questions and so many dilemmas that I scarcely know where to begin. The first matter—the government. For the first time, we have [word indistinct], we have all become conscious that for the first time in 45 years the premier of the government is not from our party and is from outside our traditional political arrangement. Today it is still uncertain and ultimately unclear what the actual participation of the PZPR will be in this government, but it will surely not be a predominant participation, the dominant one.

In connection with this a question immediately arises to which I do not have a reply at this moment. Do we become an oppositional floor group, or are we a co-ruling group? I don't have a reply—this must be clearly defined. But one thing is immediately clear to me, that two extreme points of view must be rejected: namely a stance that I hear among my comrades—fortunately these are very limited voices, which at the very start are predicting that this government does not have a long life before it, and that perhaps even judge that it would be better if it did not have this long life, that it should not succeed. I decisively reject this extreme stance, and I wish the new government success, as the success of this government in economic questions above all will be the success of our society, our nation, and state.

I also reject a second extreme attitude, namely the stance of the unconditional acceptance of all that this government will do. I would accept the stance that is moderate. We will enter this government, we will try to do everything in this government for its plans to succeed, but we will be approaching all these activities that would be contrary to our systems of values and aims very critically and constructively; that would be contrary with for instance the principles of social justice, the principles of equality of opportunity, and that would lead the Polish economy and Poland onto dangerous tracks.

This is one matter in which there are in fact more question marks than replies, as the situation is not finally clarified. The second matter is the attitude of the Parliamentary Floor Group and this initiative. One of the matters that must be put in order is the Constitution. The Constitution from 1952 and the Constitution with later amendments, for these are not just the amendments from 1976 but also later amendments, for instance to do with the writing into the Constitution of [word indistinct], now demand a fundamental ordering. One question is the matter of Article Three, the leading role. Such an initiative has been put forward by 15 deputies. I myself feel that if a considerable part of the members of the Floor Group feel that this is substantively justified, if this is a clause that is dead.... We have for a long time been repeating that the leading role of the party does not ensue from any constitutional clause nor from any formal, legislative regulations, but ensues from factual social trust.

The leading force is oneself insofar as one has social trust, and social trust ensues from a program, ensues from the results of activity, and is confirmed in elections. This clause must be [words indistinct] dead. But there is the matter of the time and circumstances, there is the question of the method. I would like just to recall that Article Three has a three-tiered construction. The first point speaks of the leading role of the PZPR in the building of socialism in Poland. The second speaks of the alliance and cooperation of the PZPR with the United Peasants' Party and Democratic Party. Finally, the third point speaks of the role as the widest in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, as the widest plane of cooperation between the party and social organizations, and so on.

It of course seems to me that one cannot peel away this sole element, leaving these two, these two remaining, without change. That is why the Parliamentary Floor Group came to the conclusion, discussing the legislative initiative of the 15 deputies, that it is appropriate to treat this thing more widely. In accordance with the obligation put upon the Floor Group by the 13th Central Committee Plenum, in association with this initiative, and with other articles of the Constitution that demand deep reconsideration and change, [words indistinct] to the Sejm Presidium for the creation of an Extraordinary Constitutional Commission.

And this commission, I hope, will arise on the basis of parity, as everything happens in the Sejm, will very soon be created, and will commence work on changes in the Constitution. It will probably start to consider this

concrete resolution that has arrived and that relates to the first point of Article Three. But I would just like to add marginally that there are ever more initiatives [words indistinct] from this Floor Group. We will soon come forward with a deputies' initiative relating to a law on political parties. A law is being prepared—a deputies' draft law on pensions. I receive very many letters on this matter. Of course, this is a drastic matter. I can also say that in the portfolio of the PZPR Parliamentary Floor Group Presidium there are at least 20 different kinds of ideas and drafts relating to legislative initiatives that are very important, on very important matters. From the very great to the seemingly minor.

[Announcer] Would the situation of the Floor Group not be made easier by that which is so loudly called for in the party, namely to call as quickly as possible the 11th congress?

[Orzechowski] At the moment, there is the question of when to hold this congress. My formula is as follows: as quickly as possible. That means, at such a time as we will be able to prepare it substantively. And here I would like to say that not I, but the party [word indistinct]. For the phrase to prepare a congress is associated with very [word indistinct] practices: manipulations, the selection and (?pre-)selection of delegates, the allocation of roles, and so on. A congress can be choreographed and prepared relatively quickly. My concern is the party, that means that the party must be prepared for the congress, that means that the aims of the congress must be discussed thoroughly, what we in fact want. That means the matter of the role and future of our party must be discussed—what it is to be.

[Words indistinct] I think that this is realistically a matter of half a year. Others feel that there is no need to hurry, that this congress can be much later, perhaps not necessarily in the statutorily envisaged period, perhaps a little earlier. But when I hear such voices then I begin to wonder whether there will then be anyone and any reason to prepare such a congress. Will there not be fulfilled in this time period processes that are already being determined, that will outgrow all those who direct the party, who feel responsible for its fate [words indistinct]. [Words indistinct] in the party, on the edges of the party and in many party organizations there is on the one hand a torpor, in many organizations. There is very lively activity of certain organizations, and here this appropriate moment cannot be (?deferred), for it might be too late—in the literal meaning of the word. Irreversible processes can take place—ones drastic in their expression for the party as well as for society and the state.

Railroad, Other Workers Stage Strikes Over Pay

Strikes in Katowice Voivodship

LD2508145389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] In spite of the strike action in the mines having been suspended, the wave of pay protests in some of the work enterprises in the Katowice voivodship is not subsiding. The strike by employees at the Przyjasn coking plant in Dabrowa Gornicza continues. The management of the Huta Katowice steelworks has conveyed to the strikers and the work-force relevant financial and economic documentation, which provides a picture of the financial possibilities of the enterprise in the current year. These proposals, however, did not satisfy the strikers.

Ambulance workers in Sosnowiec, Bedzin, Czeladz, Tarnowskie Gory, Dabrowa Gornicza, and Piekary Slaskie began striking this morning. The strike committee has put forward pay demands, informing at the same time that only calls of sudden illnesses or accidents will be answered, as well as medicines needed to save human life. In other cases, the ambulance service will not provide assistance.

A strike by employees of (Tychy) bakeries supplying the inhabitants of the (Tychy) area with bread has been announced. Yesterday's talks about pay issues in this enterprise did not result in any specific solutions and thus, as of midnight tonight, a sit-in strike will start at this enterprise.

However, the strike at the Andropol cotton works in Andrychow has ended. Normal work has been going on there since this morning.

Bialystok Newspaper Sellers

LD2508122989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Excerpt] Newscasts last night reported a strike of the railroad workers of the Bialystok Polish State Railways, PKP, junction. The report was untrue, causing indignation on the part of the night shift work force. As I was informed at 0930, there was no strike in the freight section of the Bialystok Railway. No one stopped working, services and freight movements were running and are running normally. On the other hand, Bialystok newspaper kiosk keepers have been on strike since this morning and did not accept all the papers published by RSW Prasa, Ksiazka, and Ruch [state publishers]. [passage omitted]

NSZZ Appeals for Peace

LD2508141489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Taking into consideration the superior matters of the country, we are appealing to all enterprises for peace and caution, says a resolution of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity regional organization committee, which was adopted yesterday at a meeting in Lodz with participation of representatives of more than 130 enterprise organizations.

Strike Situation Summarized

LD2508154989 Warsaw PAP in English 1229 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 25—In some of enterprises strikes were stopped, in other ones no agreement was achieved yet.

A strike at the "Andropol" cotton industry enterprise in Andrychow (southern Poland) ended last night after reaching a pay agreement.

No results were achieved in the talks between representatives of local administration in Poznan and employees of the voivodship ambulance service, now on a strike for several days and demanding improvement of working conditions and pay rises. The to-date strike committee was changed into an inter-enterprise protest-strike committee of Poznan ambulance service employees, as the employees of ambulance services of Wrzesnia and Nowy Tomysl joined in the strike.

The protest action of employees of the "Ruch" press and books distribution enterprise in Olsztyn ended on signing a pay agreement between the managers and representatives of the inter-enterprise strike committee.

In support of their pay demands, sellers from the "Ruch" newsstands in Bialystok and the nearby towns stopped selling dailies issued by the RSW publishing concern. In this situation the dailies are sold in bigger shops and by distributors.

Lodz Railroad Workers Strike

LD2508145189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Excerpts] The Ministry of Transport, Shipping, and Communications has issued a statement in which it states that the railroad workers strike at the Lodz junction has spread to the Radomsko station and others on adjacent sections as well as embracing passenger services. [passage omitted]

At 1000, the station in Skierniewice started working again. We have also received news that the station in Swinoujscie did not join in the strike, does not support it, and quite to the contrary, disapproves of it.

Solidarity Appeals for End

LD2508164889 Warsaw PAP in English 1450 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Lodz, Aug. 25—The Lodz regional organizing committee of Solidarnosc today issued a resolution calling for an end to all protest actions.

Showing understanding for dissatisfaction over deteriorating living standards, the authors of the document consider all protests and strikes unadvisable in view of the new political situation.

"All matters connected with wages should be solved through negotiations. In drastic cases, every protest action requires acceptance on the part of the regional organizing committee. All unconsulted actions will be regarded as irresponsible," the resolution says.

[Warsaw Television Service in Polish at 1515 GMT on 25 August carries a report on the Lodz Solidarity resolution which adds: "Negotiations have begun between management and strike representatives, including Zygmunt Switski, deputy general manager of the Polish State Railways, and Andrzej Slowik, chairman of the Solidarity regional board."]

Railroad Spokesman on Impact

LD2508165789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer] A strike has been in progress in the Lodz railroad center for a few days now. The railroad workers are holding back some of the stock. The holidays are ending, but the trains are standing still. Our guest, Mr Jacek Wnukowski, is the spokesman for the Polish State Railways [PKP] general management. At long last, a railroad man on the Teleexpress program.

You would like to warn travelers, sir?

[Wnukowski] Hello, ladies and gentlemen. Unfortunately, the strike continues in the Lodz railroad center, and in some other stations of the Lodz rail traffic region, and also, to a limited extent, in Siedlce and Czestochowa. Unfortunately, passengers, particularly in the Lodz center, must be prepared for great difficulties, primarily in their journeys to work. Apart from this, there are disruptions in the delivery of certain important items, including liquid fuels.

[Announcer] I will not ask you, sir, how long this situation will last, as you probably do not know. I do not know, either, but what is the PKP doing to save face vis-a-vis travelers?

[Wnukowski] Above all, we are directing many trains via roundabout routes. Apart from this, we are counting on the results of the talks being conducted with the strike organizations. Apart from this, we are trying to introduce many other facilities in order to find alternative sources of transportation.

[Announcer] Tomorrow, Jozef Oleksy, minister for cooperation with trade unions, will meet with representatives of the railroad workers.

Walesa Urges End to Strike

LD2508165189 Warsaw PAP in English 1533 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 25—Solidarnosc Chairman Lech Walesa turned to Lodz railwaymen to stop the strike action. The appeal reads among other things:

"I turn to Lodz railwaymen to display resolve in stopping the increasingly dangerous strike in the region. A strike action, especially on such a scale, has now a character of a provocation aimed against the first prime minister elected at the initiative of Solidarnosc.

"Tadeusz Mazowiecki's has an extremely difficult mission and has many enemies among those who do not like the political breakthrough started by us.

"I am convinced that you are responsible and that you will not let yourselves be led by provokers."

Further on Walesa Remarks

AU2508171789 Paris AFP in English
1712 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 25 (AFP)—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa launched appeal to Polish workers Friday not to go on strike and called on the government to take radical action "to save Poland".

Mr. Walesa said "we must radically limit the economic losses which have necessarily resulted from all strikes. Together, we must save Poland. We have waited for 45 years, we are not going to ruin this chance".

His call, issued in the northern port city of Gdansk, followed an announcement by the official PAP news agency that railway workers in the central city of Lodz have begun a strike to press wage claims. The strike is the first show of labour unrest since Tadeusz Mazowiecki was confirmed Thursday as the country's first non-communist prime minister in 40 years.

In a separate statement, dealing specifically with the Lodz dispute, Mr. Walesa called on the railway workers "to stop this dangerous strike". Such industrial action at this moment "has an element of provocation" towards Mr. Mazowiecki, he said.

"I call on you to support the prime minister and stop the strike. I am convinced that you understand the exceptional situation and that you will not let yourself be lead by provocateurs," Mr. Walesa said.

In his original statement, Mr. Walesa declared that "workers continue to face misery, inequalities and injustice. All this must be changed. Faced with this critical situation, radical action from the government, which is our government, is needed," he said. "Poland needs a profound transformation. Tadeusz Mazowiecki is one of us, he has struggled with the workers for Solidarity. We have won the struggle, but the problems have not yet been resolved," he said.

Ministry Denies Strike Exists

LD2508170189 Warsaw PAP in English
1535 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 25—The Ministry of Transport, Shipping and Communications conveyed a statement to the PAP which says that contrary to radio reports on a general strike by Polish railways, the traffic of trains on the network of the Polish state railways proceeds normally, with the exception of the Lodz region.

PAP also learned that talks between Minister for Cooperation with Trade Unions Jozef Oleksy and representatives of railwaymen will be held here tomorrow.

Lodz Workers To Suspend Strike

LD2508191289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer] Malgorzata Slomkowska reports on the situation in Lodz today:

[Slomkowska] It is now 1600. Deputy director general of the railways, Zygmunt (Siwicki).

[Begin recording] [(Siwicki)] I can tell you that there is a strike in progress at the junction here. There is also a difficult situation with freight traffic, and a strike in Czestochowa. There is also a very difficult situation in Koluszki. Perhaps a strike will start at some units, for instance in Kutno, but there are no cases known to me of a strike—a general strike—in the whole PKP [Polish State Railways] network. The strike called at Skierniewice station was averted after talks by central management with that station's staff.

[Slomkowska] Member of the Strike Committee, Slawomir Kraszewski. You have made the decision to go to Warsaw with a petition for the premier.

[Kraszewski] I think that he is a person who will certainly guarantee us fair pay for fair work. We don't want to make it more difficult for the premier to form a new government. We don't want to be a bone of contention in society. That is why we have made the decision to suspend the strike today at midnight and we will simply wait for talks and [words indistinct].

[Slomkowska] The Lodz-Kalisaka stationmaster, Andrzej Karpinski. How many trains didn't leave Lodz, and how many were not received?

[Karpinski] (?Every 24 hours) 100 trains arrive at Lodz-Kaliska. At present, while the strike is on, only one train is running, the international train from Grodno to Wroclaw. The situation is similar at Lodz-Fabryczna. [Word indistinct] only one international train arrived [word indistinct].

[Slomkowska] Have the railways incurred heavy losses?

[Karpinski] [Word indistinct] is practically zero, because obviously passengers don't buy tickets when the trains are not running. Apart from that, there are still greater losses in freight traffic, because deliveries will be delayed and the railways will pay contract penalties to clients for the delays. Freight waiting for delivery to clients varies, from fuel—coal for various customers—raw materials for industry, and (?parcels) for individual clients and state firms [words indistinct]. [end recording]

Nationwide Strike Situation Detailed

LD2508195989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Always, the strikes; they start in one part of the country and end in another.

The strike by the Voivodship Ambulance Service employees in Lublin ended with a pay agreement. Doctors at the Voivodship General Hospital in Tarnobrzeg have gone on strike, however. The Emergency Clinic's protest action developed into a strike in Sosnowiec.

Friday was another day of the sit-in strike at the Przyjazn Coking Plant at the Katowice Steelworks.

State Motor Transport drivers in Ostroleka are striking for higher pay. The strike at the Municipal and Housing Economy Enterprise in Sandomierz has been suspended, however. The national strike alert in internal trade transport enterprises has also been suspended.

Czestochowa Junction Strike Ends

LD2508220789 Warsaw PAP in English 2124 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Czestochowa, Aug. 25—Railway workers of the Czestochowa junction resumed work in the result of talks by the Strike Committee and representatives of the managerial board of the Silesian District of Polish Railways (PKP).

Passenger and freight traffic was resumed shortly before 20:00 hrs p.m.

Mazowiecki Meets Railworkers

LD2608094889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Representatives of the striking Lodz railroad workers had a meeting late in the evening with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and handed him a petition, which said:

(?Despairing) at the ineffectiveness of attempts up to now to resolve our problems, we went on strike on 24 August. Our general management, after the strike had gone on for 15 hours, did not try to get talks going [word indistinct], maintaining its stance of ignoring our pay claims and demand for a reform of the structure of the railroads. In this state of affairs, we express a vote of no confidence in our management. We trust that, as premier, you represent the interests of working people and that you will make immediate decisions to meet our demands halfway. We delegate our strike committee to you in order to undertake preliminary agreements, giving proof of support for and confidence in you as premier by the declaration that we have decided to end our strike at 2400 [midnight on 25 Aug].

Trains began running again at the Lodz junction of the PKP [State Railways] at midnight.

Ministers, Railworkers Confer

LD2608132189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Ministers Jozef Oleksy and Janusz Kaminski are holding negotiations with railroad workers' representatives. There are no more pay negotiations and the topic of the meeting is an assessment of the implementation of the agreements of 8 August. The railroad workers are stressing that the majority of people didn't get the money agreed on then. Ministry representatives are assuring that they will do everything so that the final deadline for a pay-out will be 15 September.

Much of the talk is about the issue of the Lodz railroad workers' strike, which as we know was suspended today.

Jacek Kuron, who is taking part in the meeting, said, among other things, that in a situation where trade unions have signed an agreement with the government, government could not enter into talks with strikers, because it was a wildcat strike. This shows, however, Jacek Kuron continued, the weakness of (?the obligation), because the trade union activists did not go there earlier and did not explain to people why they had signed such an agreement. Regardless of this, however, it is certain that this kind of strike harms all of us. It cannot meet with society's favor. It brings irreparable losses and basically serves no one, Jacek Kuron stressed.

Railroad Representatives on Strikes

LD2608165389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] The representatives of all trade union organizations of the Polish State Railways negatively assessed the activity of the Lodz Strike Committee railroad workers in consulting talks with Ministers Jozef Oleksy and Janusz Kaminski. It was stated that these activities had not been thought through, were uncoordinated, and seriously inconvenienced passengers. It was assessed that the strike committee members, who styled themselves representatives of the workforce, do not represent any trade union, so they could only have been speaking for a small section of the workers. It was irresponsible to have spread information about a general strike on the railroads, a strike which did not exist and which aroused the opposition of trade union organizations. It was stated that the strike is, of course, the weapon of every trade union and it must not be relinquished, but passenger traffic must not be paralyzed by it.

The Lodz Committee was asked to dissolve itself. The representatives of trade union structures invited individual members of the committee to cooperate in the trade union organizations to which they belong. The next negotiations are to take place in the last 10 days of September, in line with the agreement signed on 7 August.

Workers Reach Agreements

LD2608213989 Warsaw PAP in English 2003 GMT 26 Aug 89

["Strikes Fizzle Out"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 26—Having reached an agreement on pays, employees of the Energomontaz-Zachod working at power and thermal-electric plants ended their nine-day strike last night.

Also today, the workforce of he PKS state coach transport enterprise in Ostroleka, and its branches in Ostrow Mazowiecka and Wyszkow, called off their strike. The buses resumed their regular runs.

The Solidarnosc members at the "Zachem" chemical plant in Bydgoszcz appealed to all members of the union in that region to postpone for four weeks all protest actions and strikes.

The railway workers in Lodz came back to work last night after the PKP (Polish state railways) strike committee in Lodz had sent to Premier Mazowiecki a resolution which said in part: "We are sending delegates of the strike committee to make preliminary decisions, with the declaration that we have decided to suspend our strike on this August 25 at 24:00 hrs to show our support and confidence in you."

Meanwhile, a communique issued today by the PKP general director said that the Polish railway employees are working smoothly.

The all-Poland strike committee of the forestry workers directed yesterday a letter to Prime Minister Mazowiecki containing demands and postulates concerning funds necessary to continue their work. They also assumed the premier that they would suspend their protest actions till the end of talks with the government and stated that the negotiations should start no later than two weeks after the new government is formed.

The Solidarnosc press office of the Slasko-Dabrowski region issued a communique on a sit-in strike at the "Przyjazn" coking plant in Dabrowa Gornicza, one of the "Katowice" steel mill combine factories.

Some 2,000 workers out of the 3,300 employed are taking part in the strike, the communique reads. The production was not halted but just cut down by some 30 per cent. The main postulates include the separating of the "Przyjazn" plant from the "Katowice" combine and a 100-per cent pay rise.

The talks failed to produce any results. The Solidarnosc factory commission of "Katowice" gave a vote of no-confidence to general director of the steel mill Bohdan Kolomyjski placing on him responsibility for the conflict. A strike alert began in the "Katowice" on this August 25 as a sign of Solidarity with the protest at the coking plant. Representative of the regional Solidarnosc council Danuta Skorenko, Sejm Deputy Jerzy Gil of Sosnowiec and Senator Jerzy Piotrowski are taking part in negotiations. Senator Leszek Piotrowski's proposals were not accepted by the management. The talks are at deadlock. In a talk with PAP, Director Kolomyjski said that the strike committee told technical staff to write statements that they are taking part in the strike on their free will. As part of this staff refused to do so, they were taken out of the cokery and they are let in only in cases of emergency if the strike committee permits it. Moreover, the strikers blocked a railway tack leading through the site of the cokery to the "Katowice" steel mill, he said.

The director said he agreed to separate the cokery from the combine. However, the economic analysis for the years 1990-1994 shows that in case of gaining independence, the cokery will lose the creditability and will be deprived of investment and social means and funds for remunerations.

Since this August 1, pays in the cokery (the highest in the combine) went up by 25 per cent. The workers however demand another 100-per cent rise, that is a 135-per cent rise against the last July figures. In the present circumstances, it is not possible to do so. "I have not been given so far any analysis of our report on the situation in the plant to be made by independent experts appointed by Senator Piotrowski, which determines further negotiations and possible calling off of the protest action staged in the 'Katowice' steel mill," Kolomyjski said.

Paper Shortage Prevents Printing of Katyn Stamps

AU2408110589 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Aug 89 p 3

[PAP report: "Katyn Commemoration Stamps—Not Until 1991"]

[Text] Jan Dobraczynski, chairman of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, lent his support to a request from the Katyn Society in Konin addressed to the minister of transportation, shipping, and communications, asking for the publication of stamps commemorating the tragic death of Polish officers in Katyn and the disappearance of those interned in the Starobelsk and Ostashkov camps.

Unfortunately, J. Dobraczysnki received the reply that, owing to the difficult situation of the State Valuable Paper Printing Plant, which also prints stamps, it is impossible to fulfill this request in 1990. However, there is a possibility of printing these stamps in 1991.

Gdansk Investigating Sopot Graves Desecration

LD2408102989 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 23 Aug 89

[From the "Baltic Studio" program]

[Text] A special operational group of the Volvodship Office of Internal Affairs in Gdansk is conducting an intensive investigation aimed at identifying the perpetrators of the

desecration of the cemetery of Soviet soldiers in Sopot. Signals submitted by Sopot inhabitants and the traces of the destructive activity are being examined. At the same time, the repair work to remove the damage is beindg finalized. Twenty-three of the 30 tombstones which had been destroyed have already been replaced.

Protest Marks Anniversary of CSSR Invasion

AU2408111589 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Aug 89 p 3

[PAP report: "Rallies in Cieszyn and Krakow"]

[Text] On 21 August, the 21st anniversary of the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces' intervention in the CSSR, there was a rally in Cieszyn under the slogan: "Never Again 'Fraternal Aid'." It was organized by the Cieszyn regional authority of the "Solidarity" Citizens Committee and the Polish-Czechoslovak "Solidarity" Group.

The rally was attended by Sejm Deputies Jozefa Hemmel, Grazyna Staniszewska, Janusz Okrzesik, Radoslaw Gawlik, Jan Rokita, and Jacek Kuron; and Senators Krzysztof Kozlowski, Karol Modzelewski, and Maciej Krzanowski.

Referring to the events of 1968, it was said that the intervention had been a violation of every nation's inalienable right to self-determination and to a natural striving toward democracy, freedom, and a respect for human rights.

The participants in the rally expressed their regret, saying that the armed intervention in the CSSR had reversed the process of democratization in that country.

Poland's participation in these events, said Jacek Kuron, is all the more painful because it took place without the consent of Polish society.

The participants in the rally sent a cable to Vaclav Havel and Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, condemning the events of 21 years ago and expressing the hope that borders will not divide us, but unite us into a community of free and independent nations.

Finally, there was a minute of silence in memory of those who died in 1968.

Also on 21 August, to mark the same occasion, there was a rally of solidarity with the Czech and Slovak peoples at the Adam Mickiewicz monument in Krakow. This was organized by the Confederation for an Independent Poland, the Federation of Fighting Youth, and the Ryszard Siwiec-Jan Palach Memorial Society. Several hundred people attended. A statement was read condemning the entry of Warsaw Pact forces, including the Polish Army, into a fraternal country, and saying that this intervention was a violation of the sovereignty and national freedom of the Czechs and Slovaks.

It was demanded that the Soviet authorities withdraw all their forces from central and eastern Europe and that the USSR Supreme Soviet issue an unequivocal statement condemning the military interventions in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. After the rally there was a march, whose participants, shouting slogans like "Down with the commies," "Communists are fascists," "Soviets go home," and "Krakow and Prague are joined by the same cause," proceeded along the streets of Krakow to the USSR Consulate General, where the statement was reread.

Embassy in Prague Intervenes To Help Detainees

AU2508112289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Aug 89 p 4

[PAP report: "Intervention by the PPR Embassy Concerning Poles Detained in Prague"]

[Text] Prague—POLISH PRESS AGENCY correspondent Leszek Mazan writes: On Monday and Tuesday, [21 and 22 August] Czechoslovak mass media reported that many Poles took part in the street disturbances in Prague marking the anniversary of the 1968 events. They described these Poles as " 'Solidarity' representatives." They also said that 50 foreigners had been detained, including several PPR [Polish People's Republic] citizens.

The consular section of the PPR Embassy in Prague has taken immediate steps to establish the identity and investigate the charges against and fate of the Poles who were detained. It petitioned relevant bodies in the city prosecutor's office, police headquarters, Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in that order. Employees of the PPR Embassy consular section personally held talks. Unfortunately, they did not achieve the desired results. The CSSR authorities pointed to regulations that permit suspects to be detained for 48 hours without charges being brought against them.

In such a situation, the PPR Embassy in the CSSR conveyed a diplomatic note to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Tuesday, asking for assistance in rapidly obtaining information about the fate of the detained PPR citizens, establishing contact with them, and resolving their legal situation.

Politburo Repudiates German-Soviet Pact

AU2508113989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Aug 89 p 4

["Statement by the PZPR Politburo on the German-Soviet Agreements of 1939" adopted by the PZPR Politburo at its 22 August session]

[Text] Today is the 50th anniversary of the signing in Moscow on 23 August 1939 of the German-Soviet nonaggression agreement, known as the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, to which a secret protocol was added concerning a demarcation of spheres of interests. One month later, on 28 September 1939, Germany and the Soviet Union signed a border and friendship treaty, with

a secret protocol that defined the "borders of bilateral state interests on the territory of what was until now the Polish state."

Those accords flagrantly violated a number of universally recognized principles of international law, such as:

—A respect for the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of every state;
—The pacta sunt servanda rule with regard to Polish-Soviet agreements, including the nonaggression pact of 1934;
—The provisions of the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 and the 1933 London Convention that defined the meaning of aggression.

In the eyes of Polish society, the conduct of the signatories of those agreements was not only a violation of international law and treaty commitments toward Poland, but also of hallowed ethical norms of international coexistence.

With reference to these universally condemned events, condemned also by Polish and Soviet societies, the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Politburo states that all the provisions concerning Poland and its rights and legally-protected interests included in the above-mentioned Soviet-German agreements of 1939 were discordant with international law at the very moment of their signing, and as such have been null and void from the very beginning. In no way does this statement violate or concern the borders that have been established and exist in Europe.

Tallin Conference on Ribbentrop-Molotov Pacts

AU1608141989

[Editorial Report] Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish on 5 Aug on page 14 carries a 5,000-word article entitled "Against the Law—On the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pacts in Tallinn" by Eugeniusz Duraczynski, in which the author highlights some of the views that were given at a conference which took place at the end of June and beginning of July this year in Tallinn, and which was devoted to an analysis of the international law aspects of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pacts of 1939. The author who attended the conference and contributed a paper, also gives the Polish translation of the texts of the Secret Protocol to the Treaty of 23 September 1939, the Soviet-German Treaty of Friendship and Borders of 28 September 1939 and its two secret protocols, and a Declaration of the Governments of the Soviet Union and the German Reich of 28 September 1939.

Duraczynski states that the document on the origins of World War II, published on 24 May by the joint Polish-Soviet commission of party historians, has been very disappointing.

He writes that two things became obvious at the outset of the conference. First, all the participants accepted the fact of the existence of the secret protocols, and second, that based on the available information, there was no doubt that the initiator of the secret protocol to the 23 August Soviet-German Treaty, was Molotov.

The author quotes from the paper given by Dr H. Lindpere from Estonia, who maintains that the secret protocols must be considered to have been completely against the accepted norms of international law. This supports the author's own view: "The German-Soviet annexation of Poland, and the forcible imposition of mutual-aid treaties on the three Baltic states permitting the stationing of significant Soviet forces on their territories, and finally, the Soviet Union's attack on Finland on 29 November 1939, were all acts contrary to international law." "The Treaty," Lindpere is reported as saying, "could be regarded as a continuation of the Soviet-German Neutrality Pact of 1926, and is not legally questionable, but the legal analysis of the above mentioned protocol clearly shows its complete legal invalidity."

Analyzing the benefits the treaty brought for the Soviet Union, Lindpere is reported as saying: "In any event, from the point of view of Moscow, thanks to the pact, the state border could be moved 300 kilometers to the west."

The article describes the Lithuanian position presented by Drs V. Vadapalas and V. Zalis, who are reported as having said in their paper that Lithuania maintained a position of neutrality in the approaching Polish-German conflict and later was forced to sign a highly unfavorable treaty with the Soviet Union on 10 October 1940. Duraczynski quotes from a declaration by the Supreme Council of Lithuania of 18 May 1989: "The Stalinist diktat contained in the secret protocols between the Soviet Union and the Germans, and the ultimatum of the 14 June 1940, meant the end of the Lithuanian Republic in the summer of 1940, its annexation, and incorporation into the Soviet Union." The Lithuanian historians are reported as saying that the Stalinist government "blatantly violated the accepted principles and norms of international law, and also its bilateral commitments to Lithuania."

Turning to specifically Polish-Soviet relations, the author states that the Soviet note delivered to the Polish ambassador in Moscow at 0300 on 17 September 1939, and the almost simultaneous invasion of eastern Poland by the Red Army, were further violations of general international law and of specific Soviet obligations to Poland: "The Soviet declaration of 17 September was contrary to the norms of international law, and the action of the Red Army against Poland, in the light of the 1933 treaty defining the concept of aggression, signed by Poland, the Soviet Union and other countries, was an act of aggression," Duraczynski says. The Soviet note is quoted: "The war has exposed the internal bankruptcy of the Polish state and the Polish Government does not show any sign of life. It means that the Polish state and its government have de facto ceased to exist. Thus, the treaties between the Soviet Union and Poland have ceased to have effect." "This was a view which was not accepted by other countries," says Duraczynski. "For example, the United States stated on the 2 October 1939:

'Mere occupation of a territory does not mean the legal collapse of a government. The United States therefore, considers, that the Polish government continues to exist in accordance with the Polish constitution'." The author maintains that from 17 September 1939, Poland and the Soviet Union were in a de jure state of war: "The main aim of Polish politics in 1939-1940 was a demand for a resitutio in integrum of the Polish Republic, and this touched upon its relationship with the Soviet Union. In reality, neither Poland nor the Soviet Union declared war upon each other, but the Polish Government considered that Poland, if not de facto, was de jure in a state of war with the Soviet Union."

The author concludes by mentioning the Polish-Soviet Treaty of 30 July 1941 and comments: "The most interesting part is: 'The Soviet Government declares that the Soviet-German treaties of 1939 relating to the territorial changes in Poland are no longer binding.' From Moscow's point of view, it did not mean, however, that it regarded the acts that the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union passed in the autumn of 1939, regarding western Ukraine, and western Byelorussia, and the Soviet-Lithuanian Treaty of 10 October 1940, on the Vilna region, as null and void."

Article Contemplates September 1939 Anniversary

AU1708150289

[Editorial Report] Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish on 5 August on pages 1 and 13 carries a 5,000-word article entitled "How Nations Apologize To One Another" by Adam Krzeminski on the nature and possibility of forgiveness between nations.

The author begins his reflections by posing the question: "Can nations really apologize to one another? History contains so many conflicts, illegalities, cases of the use of force, and egoisms that it would seem that it is impossible to erase antagonisms from memories. We live in a world of Christian culture, and we know the words of the prayer—and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those that have trespassed against us. Religion, however, is one thing, collective behavior another."

In spite of the countless staged reconciliations between nations since World War II, continues the author, old fears and stereotypes remain below the surface in each nation's collective subconscious: "The televized picture of President Mitterrand and Chancellor Kohl, a picture which obliterates from view the monument at Verdun in the background, and which seemingly brings to an end the 'generations of enmity' by a new Paris-Bonn axis, only arouses feelings of foreboding in the heart of Mrs Thatcher."

Perceptions can change, says Krzeminski, and points to the effects of Gorbachev's recent FRG visit: "Only 10 years ago the Germans still regarded the Russians as cruel, aggressive, and backward, but today the Russians are held in high esteem, and this is all due to the man whom the Germans recently welcomed as the greatest European. Gorbachev ensured that one stereotype was substituted for another."

There are, however, gestures, maintains Krzeminski, that endure through the years: "When in December 1970, Willi Brandt knelt at the monument to the heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto, the Germans were dumbstruck, and German public opinion divided." Even Polish official circles were uncomfortable, states Krzeminski: "This Christian gesture of humility was unacceptable to the organizers of state manifestations, and was too reminiscent of the great debate from 1966, and the famous line from the open letter from the Polish bishops to their German counterparts: 'We forgive and we ask for forgiveness'."

Krzeminski then touches upon Polish-GDR relations, stating that there has been no comparable gesture of reconciliation from the GDR and maintains that the relationship is equivocal: "The problem with Poland and the GDR is that we are out of step with one another and we have not succeeded in creating a common language of concepts, gestures, and symbols which can be readily identified and understood by both societies." The author continues: "The early hope was that a completely new and mutual neighborliness would develop which would wrench us both out of our vicious historical circle. After 6 years this was shown to be an illusion. Poland began to turn to its old roots after October 1956, but this road was completely closed to the GDR Germans, who with great pain and difficulty continued to forge a new identity, which was partly alien to German intellectual and moral tradition." Krzeminski writes: "The problem of individual guilt, the act of penance, was left to the individual conscience. The GDR state rejected the problem of collective guilt by using the following logic; we are not the continuators of the Third Reich, but the heirs of the German antifascist tradition, and we are not bound by either the bourgeois guilt ethic, or Christian scruples of conscience." Thus, the gulf between the two neighbors remains, states Krzeminski.

Krzeminski also regrets the missed opportunity of effecting a Polish-FRG reconciliation in this important anniversary year: "In a calculated way, the Christian-Democrats have torpedoed the possibility of Polish-German reconciliation at Westerplatte, even though it was they who initially wanted the old adversaries to shake hands there, echoing the gesture at Verdun."

He calls for all countries to enter the discussion on the meaning of September 1939: "The important thing is that all countries should participate in the discussion about September—both Germanies, who are the descendants of the invaders and, willy nilly, their heirs; the Russians, whose leaders signed the immoral pact with the Hitlerites even before the war had begun, partitioning the Polish state with which they had previously signed a nonaggression pact; the Ukrainians and Belorussians who greeted the Russian Armies as liberators freeing them from the 'Polish overlords' just as they later welcomed the invading German

Armies; the Lithuanians who gained Vilna, but lost their independence; the French who did not want to 'die for Gdansk' just as they later proved they did not want to die for Paris either; the English who gave Poland guarantees knowing full well they could not honor them; the Americans, whose President in 1943 and 1945 so badly wanted to believe that Stalin would be democratic; the German Communists who saw the 1939 war as a conflict between two imperialists, and who were surrendered up to Hitler by Stalin for this very reason; and the Poles who in that terrible September realized that during their 20-year-old period of independence, they had not gained the support of their minorities in the East, and had not resisted the temptation of benefiting from the Czech tragedy...."

"We must not delude ourselves that there is any such thing as eternal peace," states the author. "Today we are a step nearer to a more authentic European link between the East and the West than we were 30 years ago. But this is only an opportunity for the future, in which, as always, regrettably, all the alternatives are possible." Krzeminski concludes by saying: "Europe and the Europeans have an opportunity, and the weak and the strong, the poor and the wealthy, the developed and less developed, may find a common value and language. We are creating this common language, but at the moment it is not yet understood by everybody."

Court Hears More on Election Irregularities

AU1808145689 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Aug 89 p 1, 2

[Report signed 'OL': "Most Are Unfounded"]

[Text] On 14 August the Supreme Court heard five more cases of complaints about election irregularities. The most interesting was the complaint brought by three members of the Ujazd Gorny election commission, namely, that their critical observations were not added to the local election report following the second round of the elections.

The main grievance related to the fact that they had not been able to participate in the work of the election commission from the time the polling station opened. The three members only managed to get to the polling station after 0800. They accused the chairman of the election commission of not sending a car earlier to pick them up. When they got to the polling station they were informed that over 46 percent of the voters had already cast their vote. They also complained that the votes were counted incorrectly. It transpired that the last count showed that there were seven voting cards more than people entitled to vote. The election report was signed by six out of the nine people on the commission.

The complainants did not appear in person. The Supreme Court heard the evidence of Bronislaw Bartula, the chairman of the local election commission in Ujazd Gorny. He testified that the car placed at the disposition of the commission brought members of the commission to the polling station at the times that had been previously prearranged with each member. Thus, there was no question that the car had been sent out too late by the chairman. There was no truth in the allegation that over 46 percent of the voters had already voted by 0800. The voter turnout for the whole day was well below that figure. While the votes were being counted, one of the complainants, Marian Strzelecki, who repeatedly kept going out of the polling station, was under the influence of alcohol. On Strzelecki's insistence, the commission recounted the votes cast and found no discrepancies. While the report was being compiled three members of the commission left the polling station. Thus, there are only six signatures, including one by the "Solidarity" commission member, on the election report.

The Supreme Court—consisting of Judges Zenon Marmaj, Gerard Bienek, and Czeslaw Bieske—held that the complaint was not substantiated because the complainants had failed to establish that there had been any infringement of the election law.

In one of the cases the court found there had been an infringement of the election law, but held that this did not have any effect on the final outcome of the voting. It concerned a married couple who, although registered as eligible to vote in one region, were not allowed to cast their vote in another region during the second round, even though it was quite clear they had not cast their votes in their original region of registration.

In the other two cases that came before the court, the court held that the election law had not been infringed.

Spokesman Describes 'Humanization' of Army Life

LD1308133389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1100 GMT 13 Aug 89

[Text] And now, excerpts from an interview with the press spokesman of the Ministry of National Defense [MON], Lieutenant Colonel Ireneusz (Czyzewski). This interview, on the subject of changes in the Army, is published by ZOLNIERZ POLSKI. This is what the MON spokesman had to say.

The current classes of recruits significantly differ from their predecessors of a dozen or so, or even a few years ago. They have a different mentality, different aspirations, a different attitude to military service. These are not always favorable changes, but, regardless of their nature, we cannot shut our eyes to them and say that nothing is happening. That is precisely why the program of humanizing the service is one forms of reaction to the transformations in the Army's social surroundings.

ZOLNIERZ POLSKI: What may we expect? What will be the practical effects of this program in relation to professional soldiers and those of the basic military service?

The MON press spokesman: In brief, first, the easing of disorders in service life. Already, the directive concerning the principles of maintaining combat-readiness has been changed. This is a very important document, having a decisive effect not only on the course of service life but also private life, particuarly of the staff. Second, the humanization of inter-personal relations, and thus an increase in mutual respect, cordiality and culture. A significant issue is also to completely free Army life from fear of superiors, so that the soldier may be sure of the vindication of his arguments, including at those times when he is a subordinate. And third, changes in certain principles of Army life and the daily agenda in barracks, and so more freetime, with a guarantee of being able to use it according to the soldier's preferences. The pass will not be a reward or a privilege, but a soldier's permanent document, issued on the day of his taking the oath, giving the right to make use of free time without special effort. Finally, an improvement in welfare and living conditions. Things are most difficult here, since money is needed which simply does not exist in the modest military budget. However, what is meant first of all is activity which does not require special outlay, such as, say, improvements in the aesthetics of canteens, mess halls, soldiers' rooms, (?ceremonial) halls, and so forth. It is time to renounce certain schemes in favor of functionallism and need.

The interview' with the MON press spokesman, Lt Col Ireneusz (Czyzewski), is entitled: The Army Is Also Changing, by the ZOLNIERZ POLSKI.

'Conversion' of Military Enterprises Noted

AU2308141889 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 26 Jul 89 p 23

[NOVOSTI article by Dmitriy Belskiy 'for ZYCIE PARTII': "The Economic Aspects of Disarmament"]

[Excerpts] Conversion is a concept that has entered everyday language on the heels of perestroyka. It means making military potential available for the solving of economic and social problems. It involves making industry that used to produce for military purposes produce goods solely for peaceful purposes. In a nutshell, it means changing the relevant enterprises from consumers of the national wealth into producers of the national wealth. [passage omitted]

Conversion entails a healing of the country's economy, thanks to which many social problems will be able to be solved. What will it achieve? First, it will increase the production of goods that are in short supply; second, it will permit the adoption of new technologies in order to produce new goods; and third, it will permit new cooperation links with other enterprises and even the formation of joint ventures with Western firms. [passage omitted]

The extent of the conversion in the Soviet Union was described by Mikhail Gorbachev in a speech before the UN General Assembly in December 1988. He announced a 14.2-percent drop in the USSR military budget and a 19.5-percent fall in the production of armaments and military technology.

In 1989, Soviet military enterprises will manufacture R27 billion worth of goods for the needs of society, which is 7.5 percent of the value of all consumer goods. The economic advantage to be gained from converting missile factories alone is R300 million, which will go to the national economy.

The all-union program concerning processing branches of the agricultural and food complex envisages the creation and production of over 4,500 new production lines and machines by 1995, of which 3,000 will be produced by the defense industry.

In this way, the defense industry will play a more tangible contribution to the development of the Soviet national economy. Today, 40 percent of the output of Soviet defense complex is for peaceful purposes, but in 1991 this percentage will rise to 50 percent, and in 1995 it will rise to 60 percent. [passage omitted]

Polish Builders Union Leader Interviewed

AU2208120889 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 18 Aug 89 p 6

[Report on interview with Zbigniew Janowski, chairman of the Federation of Independent Building Workers Trade Unions, with Violeta Stoycheva in Bulgaria: "Supplies, Housing, and the Environment"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] A few days ago Zbigniew Janowski, chairman of the Federation of Independent Building Workers Trade Unions in Poland, visited our country. He had talks with Georgi Karaulanov, chairman of the Federation of Trade Union Organizations in Construction. The principal topics discussed at the meeting were the topical problems facing the Bulgarian and Polish trade union movements, their role and place in this period of dynamic changes, and the prospects for joint work. After the meeting Zbigniew Janowski expressed some of these thoughts on these topics to a representative of the TRUD editorial board.

[Janowski] Under present conditions, any Polish Government must resolve three basic social tasks: first, feeding the population; second, housing; and third, protecting the environment. [passage omitted]

[Janowski continues] This is all the more necessary because in Poland, as is probably also the case in your country, the housing problem is very severe. People wait an average of 10 years for an apartment, and in some cases even have to wait 10 or 15 years. It is very important for construction, especially housing construction, to have a future, because this means guaranteed jobs for our trade union members. It was for this reason that during the so-called "roundtable" discussions, in which I myself took part, we fought to ensure that 7 percent of investments would continue to be earmarked

for house-building. The government was fully aware of what these 7 percent mean and how difficult it will be to fulfill such a program, because during the drafting of the final documents it attempted to ensure that his percentage was not written into the documents. "Solidarity" also retreated and did not insist on it. Our own National Trade Union Confederation strongly opposed this, and under the pressure it exerted the 7-percent figure was included in the country's investment plan. This percentage will realistically cover the average needs of the population; more precisely, it means that 10 apartments will be built during the next few years for every 1000 members of the population.

One cannot speak here of any specific policy that is conducted by our federation outside the framework of the National Trade Union Confederation. We maintain a common platform with the other federations on meeting the workers' housing needs, and this platform forms part of the trade unions' general social policy. [passage omitted]

In the construction sector the proportion of workers who are members of "Solidarity" is only 10 or 15 percent, while a further 50-55 percent of building workers are members of our trade union. There are many enterprises in which "Solidarity" has no representatives, but there are also others in which 90 percent of the workers are members of "Solidarity."

At the start of the year there were 1,540 trade union organizations in our federation, and at the moment their number has increased by about 100, so that one observes a rising trend in our membership, from 350,000 last year to 400,000 at the moment. [passage omitted]

It was expected that, with the legalization of "Solidarity," the majority of our trade union members would go over to them, and we even allowed for the fact that the ratio would be 30 to 70, that is, we would keep 30, and lose 70. Fortunately, however, these forecasts turned out to be inaccurate. The workers stayed in our trade union, because they understood that "Solidarity" is not only a trade union organization, but also is political in nature.

From the very foundation of our building workers federation, the contacts between us and the Bulgarian federation have been very good. On many occasions we have sent construction teams to Bulgaria, and your teams have also been in Poland. Furthermore, several thousand Polish building workers are working in Bulgaria, which further promotes the development of closer ties between us. We know Bulgaria well as a beautiful country for tourism, but it is in our mutual interest to concentrate our joint work on specific exchanges of people.

Japanese Diet Members Arrive in Warsaw

OW2208053889 Tokyo KYODO in English 0030 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 21 KYODO—A five-member delegation of Japanese parliamentarians arrived in Poland on Monday to monitor turbulent political and economic conditions here.

The delegation, comprising three ruling Liberal Democratic Party members, two Japan Socialist Party members, and one Communist Party member, was led by Hideyuki Aizawa, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the House of Representatives.

During their 4-day visit, the delegation is expected to meet with President Wojciech Jaruzelski, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, Speaker of the Parliament Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, Solidarity's parliamentary floor leader Bronislav Geremek, and others.

The visit comes in the wake of the first-ever election of a non-Communist government in the socialist bloc.

Last week, Tadeusz Mazowiecki became prime minister-designate in the newly-formed Government, which is led by Solidarity.

Pax Association Presidium Holds Session

LD1608103689 Warsaw PAP in English 2230 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 15—The Presidium of the main board of the Pax Association met here today to discuss the key socio-political and socio-economic problems defining the current internal situation of Poland. The session was chaired by head of the main board Zenon Komender and attended by members of the Pax Parliamentary Floor Group.

It was stressed in the discussion that this situation was characterised by an expanding chaos and growing political and economic anarchy. It causes a deep concern of the society over the future of living conditions and stability of the state. The protracted difficulties in forming the government and the conflicts and bargains accompanying it are another reflection of the negative process of destabilization which has been growing for a longer period of time.

A concern is caused by the breaching of roundtable arrangements and leading by the main sides of a political game characterised by a departure of forces and reasons which undermines their positions and is observed by the social opinion with a growing skepticism.

This state of affairs should be urgently counteracted. Calling up of a government of national agreement with the participation of all political forces which were represented at the roundtable should be the only consistent answer, the Presidium states.

The Pax Association considers it as its fundamental duty to act in the spirits of the Polish school of patriotic thinking and overriding moral and social reasons against the expanding particularism and aggressiveness in striving for power without a full justification by general national programmatic reasons, the statement concludes.

It was stressed in the course of the session that the Pax Association feels itself charged with a task of reaching an

agreement with various socio-political forces depending on the issues and reasons which will require collaboration and co-responsibility.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 9-15 Aug

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[Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish monitored from 10-16 August reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (date and page of each report given in parentheses):

Wojciech Jaruzelski, Polish president, received Wojciech Baranski, Polish ambassador to Cuba, on 12 August. (16 August 89 p 2)

Leszek Miller, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, met Central Committee instructors in Warsaw on 11 August to discuss party tasks stemming from the 13th plenum. (12-15 Aug 89 p 2)

Marcin Swiecki, PZPR Central Committee secretary, received Paulo M. Junior, Central Committee secretary of the Movement for the Liberation of Angola Labor Party in Warsaw on 11 August. (12-15 Aug 89 p 2)

President Ceausescu Delivers National Day Speech

AU2408155389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Aug 89 pp 1-3

[Speech by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at a festive meeting organized by the RCP Central Committee, the Grand National Assembly, and the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front to mark the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, in Bucharest on 21 August]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades: On 23 August this year, the Romanian people celebrate the 45th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, which eliminated imperialist domination for good and paved the way for great revolutionary changes and for the full independence, sovereignty, and freedom of Romania. [cheers, chants]

We are celebrating our great national holiday with outstanding achievements in the fulfillment of our socioeconomic development plans and with the firm determination to unswervingly implement the party program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensuring Romania's progress toward the high peaks of communist civilization. [cheers, chants]

On our great national holiday, I extend warmest revolutionary congratulations—on behalf of the party Central Committee, the State Council, and myself personally—to our heroic workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, to all working people, regardless of nationality, and our whole nation, who, under the leadership of our glorious Communist Party, are shaping in freedom and dignity their destiny of well-being and happiness and are working with enthusiasm and self-denial to raise the bright foundation of socialism and communism in Romania. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed Comrades, in the millennia-old existence of our people, one can say that the 23 August 1944 antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation marked the most important turning point, which, for the first time in our history, paved the way for true freedom and independence, with the transfer of power into the hands of the people. This facilitated the fulfillment of the whole nation's aspirations, under the leadership of the Communist Party, namely the construction of the most just system, the socialist system in our fatherland. [cheers, chants]

This summer we also mark the 50th anniversary of the actual outbreak of World War II, i.e. Hitlerite Germany's aggression against various European states, which culminated with the war against the Soviet Union. Everybody knows that the establishment of Hitlerism in Germany and of fascist dictatorships in various countries, the revanchist policy, and Nazi German's striving for world domination played a decisive role in the outbreak of the most horrible war known to mankind until then. History is full of lessons. Everybody knows that an attitude of giving in and making compromises with fascism and Hitlerite Germany did not stop, but rather encouraged aggression and war. As a matter of fact, everybody knows of the Munich accord—reached under the patronage of English imperialism—the aggression against Czechoslovakia, the occupation of Austria and Poland, and the Vienna Diktat which ceded part of Romania's national territory to Horthyist Hungary.

In the current political circumstances, it is worthwhile recalling that the great powers did not observe their own pledges and chose the road of giving in to and compromising with Hitlerite Germany. The Molotov-Ribbentrop pact also failed to halt the aggression, and one can say, without fear of being wrong, that it actually played a negative part and facilitated the implementation of Hitlerite Germany's aggressive plans.

In this situation, there were realistic leading circles in Romania, which opposed Hitlerite Germany's policy; some people paid with their lives for their convictions. However, one must openly state that the most reactionary, fascist, and Iron-Guardist circles put themselves in the service of Hitlerite Germany, thus betraying the interests of their own people. The foreign monarchy supported and abetted this betrayal of national interests, by placing itself alternately in the service of one or another great power. In those circumstances, the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], along with other workers and progressive forces and with national patriotic forces, acted to defend the national interests, resolutely spoke out against fascism and war, protested against aggression, expressed solidarity with the Austrian and Czechoslovak peoples, and actively supported the struggle against war and fascism. [cheers, chants]

As a matter of fact, everybody knows that the Polish people remained alone against Hitlerite aggression. The Western countries, which promised aid and support, took no action whatsoever, thus proving the saying that water that lies far away does not put out a fire; rather, that one should rely on one's own forces, or on one's closest neighbors.

As is well known, in the difficult circumstances of those years, Romania granted friendly support to the Polish people, thus disregarding the pressures and threats of Hitlerite Germany and other countries. One should not forget those circumstances, because they strongly show that, in the efforts to promote socioeconomic development and ensure their independence, the small and medium-sized countries in Europe cannot rely on abstract promises from afar, but rather on their own forces and, I repeat, on the solidarity of their neighbors and comrades in arms and ideas. [cheers, chants]

I believe that you all agree that we should extend to the friendly Polish people, who are experiencing difficult trials, the full solidarity of the Romanian Communists and people, and we encourage them to overcome these

difficulties and firmly ensure the construction of socialism, as well as the full independence and sovereignty of Poland. [cheers, chants]

As is well known, on 1 May 1939 our party organized a strong demonstration in support of Czechoslovakia, and against fascism and Hitlerite Germany. I believe it is our duty to reiterate, on this occasion, too, our full solidarity with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak people, in the struggle for socialism and for the full independence and solidarity of Czechoslovakia. [cheers, chants]

On this occasion, I would like to extend to the GDR Communists and people our sentiments of full solidarity, as well as wishes for the full success in the construction of socialism in that part of Germany, as proof of the fact that they are unswervingly following the teachings of Marx and Engels. [cheers, chants]

We also extend our sentiments of solidarity to the Yugoslav Communists and peoples who, in 1941, rose up in arms against fascism, to defend their independence and integrity. We wish them complete success in building socialism and in strengthening their independence and sovereignty. We express our total solidarity with them. [cheers, chants]

We also extend sentiments of solidarity to the Bulgarian Communists and people, as well as wishes for complete success in the successful construction of socialism, in the further development of friendly Bulgaria along the road of a new system, and in the enhancement of their independence and sovereignty. [cheers, chants]

We also extend sentiments of solidarity to the neighborly Hungarian Communists and people. We wish them to overcome certain hardships and ensure the socialist development of Hungary and further enhancement of their country's independence and sovereignty. [cheers, chants]

I left to the end a great neighbor of ours, so as to better emphasize the great importance of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. We want to extend warmest sentiments of solidarity to the Communists and peoples of the Soviet Union, and we wish them new successes in promoting their socialist development and creating conditions for a transition toward communism, so as to further increase the creative capability of the Soviet peoples. [cheers, chants]

I would also like to extend our sentiments of solidarity to the Communists and people of friendly Albania, together with wishes for new successes in their socialist development and in strengthening their independence and sovereignty. [cheers, chants]

I believe you will join with me in extending our sentiments of solidarity to the Communist and workers parties and to the peoples of other socialist countries, as well as wishes for success in their entire activity of building socialism, raising their material and intellectual standard of living, and strengthening their independence and sovereignty. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed Comrades, in fulfilling its historic mission of defending the national interests of all the people, the RCP has taken energetic steps to achieve the unity of the workers class, to set up the anti-Hitlerite patriotic front, and to create a broad democratic front to protect the vital interests of our fatherland's existence and future. In the difficult conditions of war, the RCP began to organize the struggle against the military-fascist dictatorship and foreign occupiers. It organized resistance and partisan movements, thus achieving, as I said before, a broad unity of all realistic, patriotic, and national forces headed by the workers class.

It is worthwhile pointing out the fact that, during the course of the struggle for the defense of our national interests, broad cooperation developed between our party and other democratic forces, which included the Army and patriotic officers, including officers from the Supreme Command, who realized that the interests of the Romanian people and their future are closely connected with eliminating the antinational policy and the fascist dictatorship, taking Romania out of the anti-Soviet war, and ensuring the country's complete independence. [cheers, chants]

In these domestic circumstances, conditions were created for carrying out the historic act of 23 August. To this, one should add the favorable international conditions created following the defeats suffered by Hitlerite Germany, primarily at the hands of the glorious Soviet Army and of the strong partisan and national liberation movements in various countries, our country's turning its arms against Hitlerite Germany, and the struggle of the countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

Making use of the favorable conditions created, the patriotic and national forces overthrew the military-fascist dictatorship and formed a government which included RCP representatives. Everybody knows that this was achieved during an armed national insurrection, in which the patriotic guards and the workers, together with the Army, fought side by side to protect our national interests and ensure Romania's free future. [cheers, chants]

Everybody knows of the Hitlerite army's desperate attempts to crush the 23 August revolution through military actions and the bombing of the capital and other localities. In these circumstances, I repeat, our military units, together with the workers and patriotic guards, waged tough battles to defeat and liquidate the military forces of Hitlerite Germany. It is worth mentioning this, because the revolution and the overthrow of imperialist forces did not happen of its own accord, but rather through struggle, and history show that the nations must be ready to fight for their independence, for their future, for socialism, and for a free and independent life. [cheers, chants]

The important role played by the RCP in carrying out the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation was proved not only by the struggle of the armed patriotic guards organized by the Communist Party, but also by the fact that the overthrown government of the military-fascist dictatorship was immediately taken over by the patriotic workers guards, who stifled all attempts to free the former government members, thus ensuring the complete victory of the revolution. [cheers, chants]

One can say without fear of being wrong that the 23 August 1944 revolution was an act of will of the whole Romanian nation and a brilliant assertion of the determination of the national patriotic forces to eliminate foreign domination for good, to defend the fatherland's independence and integrity, to completely liberate the entire territory of Romania, and to proceed to the building of the new social system, in which the people are the complete masters of their destiny. [cheers, chants]

Beginning with 23 August 1944, Romania participated with its entire economic, military, and human potential and all its might in the struggle to completely liberate our fatherland and in the war—alongside the Soviet Union and other forces of the allied nations—to liberate the entire national territory, and later to liberate Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and part of Austria, until it had totally defeated Hitlerite Germany.

It is well known that, according to the assessments of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, in the last part of the antifascist war, that is for a period of about 9 months, Romania contributed more than 500,000 troops to the war effort, thus ranking as the fourth military power in the struggle against Hitlerite Germany. Many deeds of valor were committed by the Romanian Army and people, which attest to the fact that our people had nothing in common with the war waged alongside Hitlerite Germany and that our whole nation's interests have always been to fight against foreign occupiers, to defend our own and other peoples' freedom and independence, and to ensure the independence and true freedom of all nations. [cheers, chants]

Now, when we recall the great victory of 23 August, our thoughts turn to and we pay the greatest homage and highest honor to the Communist and antifascist heroes and to all democrats and patriots, who did all they could for our fatherland's liberty and for its development along the road of progress and socialism. [cheers, chants]

We pay warm homage and high honor to the Romanian soldiers and officers and to all those who gave their lives to defeat fascism, liberate our forefathers' fatherland, ensure the victory of the great ideals of social and national justice, and promote the cause of freedom and independence for all nations. [cheers, chants]

We honor and pay warm homage to the memory of the soldiers of the Soviet Army, who bore the brunt of the war against Hitlerism, to the soldiers of other armies of the antifascist coalition, to the partisans and fighters of the resistance movement, and to all those who, in one way or another, made a contribution to the victory over fascism and to the cause of freedom and independence for all nations. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed Comrades, concurrently with pooling all efforts to ensure our participation in the war for the country's liberation and against Hitlerite Germany, the party, together with other workers and patriotic forces, carried out intensive political-organizational activity in the first days of the revolution for social and national liberation in order to organize the party, the Union of Communist Youth, trade unions, women's organizations, and other patriotic and democratic organizations on legal bases. Our party gave priority to the need to strengthen ties with the workers class, peasantry, and intelligentsia. Everybody knows of the great actions organized in those days to defend the interests of the working people and the whole nation, namely the great demonstrations of the fall of 1944 and of the winter and spring of 1945. There were attempts by reactionary forces to crush the struggle of the broad masses, including actions by the most reactionary forces, such as the decision to open fire on the great demonstration of February 1945, which resulted in many casualties among patriotic and Communist fighters. At the same time, we carried out a broad activity to organize the peasantry and proceeded to implement the agrarian reform with the participation of the peasants themselves; various state bodies were taken over, such as town halls and particularly prefect's offices.

All this culminated with the establishment of the first truly democratic workers-peasants government on 6 March 1945, in which the Communist Party played an important part. One can say that, in the entire period between 23 August 1944 and 30 December 1947, we carried out a broad revolutionary process of organizing the party and the democratic people's forces and steadily defending the interests of the workers class, peasantry, and intelligentsia. All this ensured the great victory in the 1946 elections, strengthened the democratic forces, and paved the way for the removal of the Hohenzollern monarchy, which for 80 years had actually been a foreign body in our country and an agency of foreign imperialist monopolies.

In this vast revolutionary process, an important role was played by the establishment of the United Workers Party of the workers class, through the merger between the Communist Party and the Social-Democratic Party, thus ensuring the full unity of the workers class—a main prerequisite for the successful construction of socialism and for our progress toward communism. [cheers, chants]

In 1948, we proceeded to the nationalization of the main means of production, which led to the elimination of the capitalist system and of oppression and inequalities for good, and in 1949 we started the cooperativization of agriculture. As is well known, for almost 15 years we

carried out an intensive activity of organizing agriculture, other sectors, and the entire economy on socialist bases.

Esteemed Comrades, in the unfolding of this vast revolutionary process in our country, the Ninth RCP Congress marked a decisive turning point in the successful construction of socialism in Romania. [cheers, chants]

Setting out from a scientific analysis of the first stage of socialist construction, the Ninth Congress put an end to dogmatism, conservative ideas, kow-towing to everything foreign, the single model, and other anachronical concepts which were hampering the development of socialism in our fatherland; the congress raised the issue of continuing to work in a revolutionary spirit and of removing formalism and various irresponsible and hesitant attitudes in the implementation of the party policy. That is why our party and people really consider that the Ninth RCP Congress marked a turning point, which dynamized the entire activity of Romania's revolutionary change, without which we would not have been able to score the great results we have today. [cheers, chants]

One can justifiably say that the Ninth Congress opened up the road for a new and revolutionary way of thinking and restored a feeling of dignity and trust in their own forces to the party and people; it armed the party with a general political line and a revolutionary strategy, in accordance with the universally valid objective laws and the principles of scientific socialism, which have been and are creatively being applied to conditions and realities prevailing in Romania. [cheers, chants]

Now, on our great national holiday, we can proudly state that in the years of socialist construction, particularly after the Ninth Party Congress, the Romanian people have scored outstanding results in all spheres of activity. In a short historical period of only 45 years, the Romanian people have covered, under the leadership of the RCP, several historical stages: from the bourgeois-landlord system, with strong feudal aspects, to the socialist system and the stage of building the comprehensively developed socialist society. [cheers, chants]

In this period, Romania turned from a poorly developed agrarian-industrial country into an industrial-agrarian country with a strong modern industry, organized on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology, and with an advanced socialist agriculture, in full progressive swing. In this period we created a strong technical-material basis. The productive fixed assets amount today to about 3,600 billion lei, compared with only 160 billion lei in 1945. With this technical endowment, the Romanian industry today produces 135 times more than in 1945, of which 120 times more after the Ninth Party Congress. [cheers, chants]

Agriculture has also registered a strong development. Agricultural production is today 10 times higher than in 1945, of which a 6-fold increase has been recorded after the Ninth RCP Congress. [cheers, chants]

We strongly developed science, education, and culture, which are decisive elements of our overall progress and of the successful construction of socialism and communism. [cheers, chants]

Everybody is familiar with the great achievements obtained in our fatherland's overall development, such as the deployment of the forces of production throughout the territory of the country or the new industrial and agricultural citadels as well as other social edifices—dwellings, schools, medicare units, centers of education and culture—which radically changed the face of our towns and communes and the overall aspect of the socialist fatherland. On the basis of the strong development and rational deployment of the forces of production and on the basis of the vast industrial, agricultural, and social projects achieved, we ensured a more than 40-fold increase in the national income, of which more than 33 times after the Ninth Party Congress. [cheers, chants]

All this ensured the strong development of the fatherland and a substantial increase in the material and intellectual living standard of the people, the supreme goal of our party's policy and the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society we are successfully building in Romania. [cheers, chants]

Now, we are discussing with the whole party and nation the documents for the 14th congress and are drawing an overall balance sheet of the distance covered by the Romanian people along the road of socialism. Therefore, I do not wish to dwell in detail on the current stage of our fatherland's development. However, one should point out that everything achieved thus far tellingly proves the correctness of the policy of our Communist Party, which has fulfilled and is honorably fulfilling the historic mission of leading the whole nation along the road of building the most just system in the world, toward happiness, well-being, and full independence and sovereignty. [cheers, chants]

All this clearly proves the importance of the Ninth Congress decisions to build socialism in accordance with objective laws and with our people's realities and will. It shows how right our party was to proceed to strongly developing self-management and self-administration and setting up new democratic forms, by proceeding from the scientific principle of building socialism with the people and for the people. [cheers, chants]

Life has shown that only in close connection with the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, all working people, regardless of nationality, and the whole nation, and only by taking into account their strivings to build a world of social equity and justice, can one successfully build the new system. Therefore, one can say that we owe everything to the fact that the workers class has fulfilled and is fulfilling its historic mission—by acting in close unity with the peasantry, intelligentsia, and the whole nation, under the leadership of the Communist Party—

and plays the decisive and determining role in building socialism and ensuring our progress toward communism. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed Comrades, we are proud of our achievements along the road of socialism. We know that it has not been easy to achieve all this; we had to struggle and work firmly and resolutely in all sectors. It is true that mistakes were made at times and that there were some shortcomings and minuses. However, our party did not lose sight of the difference between certain mistakes or deviations from the socialist path and the true meaning of socialism and the principle of socialism. Therefore, the party acted to remove all deficiencies on time and ensured the firm and impetuous development of our fatherland along the road of socialist construction. [cheers, chants]

We steadily allocated an important part of the national income, particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress, to developing the forces of production and the entire society. We were thus able to achieve our great industrial, agricultural, and social projects and ensure the continuous growth of the people's material and intellectual living standard. As I said at several previous congresses, if we had not done this and if we had neglected accumulation and the development fund, Romania would have continued to be a poorly developed country and now, instead of talking of great achievements, would have talked about how to overcome difficulties. I emphasize this comrades because one of the general objective laws of the development of any human society is accumulation and the development fund. Without this, one cannot ensure the progress of any nation. Therefore, we plan to continue this policy and will further base our entire development on the most advanced science and technology. Only thus will we be able to build socialism and communism and to ensure a dignified place for our nation, in freedom and well-being. [cheers, chants]

We can strongly assert that only under conditions of socialism were we able to obtain our great achievements and only socialism was able to eliminate past backwardness and ensure Romania's progress, in a short period of time, to a high socioeconomic development level. Proceeding from all this, we must pledge to do all we can to ensure our fatherland's firm march forward along the road of successfully building the comprehensively developed socialist society and progressing toward communism. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed Comrades, as is well known, the whole party and nation are discussing the program-directive and theses of the 14th RCP Congress, which will work out the general strategic line for Romania's development in the 1991-1995 period and the future guidelines up to the year 2000-2010. The provisions of the program-directive are based on our people's great achievements in building socialism and proceed from the need to broadly develop the forces of production and intensively develop industry, agriculture, and other fields of activity. By implementing the provisions of the ninth 5-year plan, in 1994, at the 50th anniversary of the revolution for social and national liberation, we will be able to say that Romania has become a strongly developed country and is firmly advancing toward the fulfillment of the program to build the comprehensively developed socialist society and implement the communist principles of work and life.

We will pay particular attention to fulfilling the programs of modernizing all fields of activity, on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology. We will attach special importance to raising the qualitative and technical level of the entire activity and strongly increasing labor productivity, efficiency, and profitability in all spheres. In agriculture, we will unflinchingly implement the targets of the new agrarian revolution. As a matter of fact, as I said at the recent meeting of agriculture's democratic forum, this year we will obtain a production of about 40 million tonnes of grain, which means that we will have achieved, during the current 5-year plan, the targets of the ninth 5-year plan and of the long-term programs up to the year 2000. This will require that we set forth new targets for the new agrarian revolution. [cheers, chants]

Everybody is familiar with the provisions of the program-directive. They will be improved on the basis of discussions with and proposals of the working people and by taking into consideration the socioeconomic development programs of communes, towns, and counties and the development programs of all socioeconomic units, so that this program-directive can represent the will and aspirations of our whole nation.

It is worthwhile emphasizing on this occasion, too, that we will continue to pay particular attention to improving and intensifying scientific research, proceeding from the fact that everything we plan to achieve in the next 5-year plan and decade must be based on the latest achievements of science, technology, and overall human knowledge. We must always bear in mind that, only on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology, will we be able to raise the overall level of civilization and to successfully build socialism and communism in our fatherland. As a matter of fact, communism means science at the highest possible level. [cheers, chants]

At the same time, we will continue to perfect all grades of education, by basing the entire activity of the latest achievements of science, technology, and human knowledge. Setting out from the generalization of the 12-year education system, as of next year we will raise the general level of culture of the young generation and the whole nation, thus creating a people with a high level of culture, an intellectual workers class and peasantry, and a people armed with the latest achievements of science and technology and with the revolutionary materialistic-dialectical outlook about the world and life. This will constitute the surest guarantee of the unflinching fulfillment by the whole nation of the goals of building socialism and communism. [cheers, chants]

We will continue to pay particular attention to distributing the forces of production throughout the territory and ensuring the harmonious development of all counties and localities, by strengthening the principle of self-management, self-administration, and self-financing, within the framework of the uniform national plan for our fatherland's socioeconomic development. Everything we will achieve will continue to have the strategic goal, as has been the case to date, of ensuring the fatherland's overall development and further raising the people's material and intellectual living standard. We will pay constant attention to ensuring working and living conditions to all the fatherland's citizens, particularly the entire young generation. We will firmly apply the principles of socialist ethics and equity in the spheres of distribution and remuneration, proceeding from the socialist principle according to which equal remuneration is granted for equal work, and from the fact that nobody in our society may live without work or by exploiting the work of others. We will firmly apply the socialist principle of no work without bread and no bread without work. [cheers, chants]

Our society will ensure the unswerving implementation of the principles of social justice and equality among all the sons of the country; at the same time, we will create the best possible conditions for developing the creative spirit and abilities of all citizens and for strongly asserting the human personality. We will pay particular attention to generally resolving the housing problem during the next 5-year plan period, so that by the year 2000 we will have fully solved this problems in our towns and improved living and housing conditions in communes and villages. By carrying out the development, modernization, and systematization plans in rural and urban localities, we will create the necessary conditions for the disappearance of differences between towns and villages and for drawing working and living conditions in communes and villages closer to those in the towns; this is a vital and objective prerequisite for successfully building socialism and communism and for true equality among all sons of our fatherland. [cheers, chants]

In our efforts to achieve all our future targets, we will continue to pay particular attention—during the next 5-year plan and throughout the period up to the year 2000—to strongly developing socialist property, under the form of all the people's and the cooperative ownership, as a lasting foundation of the successful fulfillment of our socioeconomic progress and successful construction of socialism and communism in Romania. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed Comrades, in the activity to attain our future development targets we will take resolute steps to improve the management and planning of all sectors, by taking into account the new requirements raised by the strong development of science, technology, and overall human knowledge and by the application of objective laws and socialist principles to the new realities prevailing in our country. We will always take resolute action against everything that is old, outdated, and no longer corresponds to the new requirements of socioeconomic development and we will strive to firmly promote the revolutionary spirit and what is new in all spheres of activity.

Proceeding from the need to achieve an as thorough as possible correlation between the relations of production and the forces of production, we will always strive to improve the system of relations between social classes and groups, so as to eliminate all kinds of contradictions that may appear at a given time and achieve the full unity of all the people in implementing the goals of the construction of the new social system. Particular attention will be paid to improving and developing the system of our revolutionary workers democracy, by constantly setting out from the scientific principle of building socialism with the people and for the people, by continuously improving our state democratic bodies and their activity, and by increasing the role of the new democratic bodies, which ensure the full participation of all social categories and the whole nation in working out the domestic and foreign policy and in unflinchingly shaping the people's own future, in freedom and independence. [cheers, chants]

In this respect, we will continue to improve the party's activity and increase its role as leading political force in all spheres of activity. Life has shown that only by preserving its basic revolutionary principles and remaining the party of the workers class, will the Communist Party be able to commendably fulfill its historic mission. Proceeding from the fact that the workers class has the historic mission of building the new social system, the Communist Party, the party of the workers class, must always stay the party of the workers, a revolutionary party, which scientifically leads the workers class toward attaining its goals. [cheers, chants]

As you know, many Communists and members of the detachments of the workers class took up arms and gave their lives for socialism, not only in the underground period, but also after 23 August. We have reached another level of development, but we must never forget that the revolutionary struggle did not end, will never end. Our party must always act, in all circumstances, as a revolutionary party. The Communists, workers, and all patriots must always be ready to defend the country's revolutionary conquests and independence, even with their lives. This was done by our forefathers, from the Dacians to these days, and should be always done by all of us, by the Communists, patriots, and our people. [cheers, chants]

We know from the past and from present events that the reactionary imperialist circles do not restrain themselves to abstract and humane notions, but rather they kill, murder, and organize diversions and acts of destabilization in various socialist countries in order to promote their interests. We must fully realize that the class struggle has not concluded yet and will not end as long as there are exploiting classes. Whether they are in power or not, the Communists must stay revolutionary and should

firmly stick to the positions of the revolutionary class struggle. Only thus will they lead their nations toward communism and ensure the victory of socialism throughout the world and the true independence of peoples. [cheers, chants]

We must always realize that any weakening of the party's leading role and of the role of the workers class in the party and society will seriously affect the cause of socialism and the whole nation's well-being and independence. [cheers, chants]

At the same time it is necessary to carry out a comprehensive activity to develop all mass and public organizations and all organizations of our socialist system and to expand and strengthen cooperation within the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF], thus ensuring the people's fully unity, which is a guarantee of the successful construction of socialism and communism in Romania and of our fatherland's independence, sovereignty, and bright future. [cheers, chants]

The great targets of the fatherland's future development require the further improvement of the political-ideological activity and of the activity of all our bodies. Everybody, in his sphere of work, must ensure the organization and active participation of all social classes and categories in implementing the general policy of raising our fatherland to new peaks of progress and civilization. Our achievements to date and the long-term program discussed by the party and the whole nation make us confident of the fact that, in the coming decade, we will continue to obtain new outstanding results and will implement, in general terms, the party program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society. In the years 2000, Romania will have reached a high level of economic, scientific, and cultural development. Our people will prove that they have worked in a responsible spirit to achieve their striving for well-being and the golden dream of communism. [cheers, chants]

We can confidently state that with these achievements we will proceed to a new development stage and to the implementation of communist principles of work and life, thus opening up a new and long-term historical stage before our nation. Dear Comrades, on the 45th anniversary of the victory of the social and national liberation let us pledge to act in a fully responsible spirit to ensure well-being, happiness, and a dignified and free place for our nation, which has lived on these lands for more than 2000 years, among the free nations of the world, in communism. There is no higher goal than this, namely to serve the people, socialism, communism, and the country's independence. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed Comrades, while giving priority to socioeconomic development and socialist construction in Romania, our party and state have also promoted a foreign policy of cooperation with all states in the world, regardless of social system. Romania has actively participated in the struggle for disarmament and peace, for the solution of the serious problems facing contemporary mankind through negotiations alone, and for a broad economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation. One can state that there were no important international events during all this period in which Romania did not act or make a certain active contribution to the democratic resolution of problems, in the interest of all nations, peace, and cooperation.

We firmly base our relations with all states on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, and respect for each people's right to freely choose its socioeconomic development road, without any kind of outside interference. Everybody knows Romania's consistent position of developing ties with all socialist countries and strengthening their solidarity and unity in the struggle to build the new system and promote social progress and peace in the world. At the same time, we have broadly developed and will continue to firmly expand our relations with small and medium-sized countries and with developing and nonaligned countries, as an most important element of the struggle for a better and more just world. At the same time, we took further steps to expand ties with the developed capitalist countries and all states in the world, regardless of their social system, in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

We are firmly determined to broadly develop international economic exchanges and actively participate in the international division of labor, as a most important element of the policy of disarmament, peace, and cooperation among all nations in the world.

I would like to point out that we will do all we can to contribute to improving and developing cooperation within CEMA. We believe that now, when some socialist countries are faced with certain difficult socioeconomic problems, CEMA should thoroughly examine these problems and establish certain special programs in this respect, because only thus can one show true socialist solidarity. We are convinced that the socialist countries have the ability to appropriately resolve problems and overcome hardships and to ensure each nation's socioeconomic progress, without any kind of conditioning but one, namely to develop socialism and ensure the well-being and independence of nations.

On the international plane, profound changes have taken and are still taking place in the political and military balance of power and in socioeconomic development. One can say that a certain parity has been reached in the international balance of power, which facilitated the achievement of some important steps along the road of detente and of solving certain international problems through negotiations. In spite of all this, we must openly state that the international situation continues to be complicated and serious. It seems that certain circles, ignoring prevailing realities, believe that this is a good time to intensify their activity against socialism, against the independence of nations, and against the consolidation of their independence.

The agreements reached in the sphere of eliminating intermediate-range nuclear arms did not actually reduce the danger of nuclear weapons, which pose a real threat to the existence of life itself of our planet. The ongoing discussion concerning the modernization of NATO's short-range missiles, the continuation of nuclear tests, and the militarization of the outer space clearly show that not everybody has realized the need to renounce nuclear weapons and the policy of force and dictate. On the contrary, NATO countries have recently stated that nuclear deterrence will continue to stay the strategy of their international policy. Under these conditions, all nations should understand that the main problem of our age is to halt the arms race and resolutely proceed to disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, to thoroughly eliminate all nuclear weapons in several stages, to put an end to nuclear tests and the militarization of the outer space, and to promote a new policy of peace and defense of the basic right of all people and nations to life and to a free, independent, and dignified existence.

It is necessary to resolutely proceed toward eliminating chemical weapons, in close connection with the elimination of nuclear weapons, and radically reducing conventional weapons, troops, and military expenditures, under appropriate control. One should strike to achieve a balance of armaments at an ever lower level, with appropriate control measures, which can ensure the full implementation of concluded agreements.

As is well known, Romania has taken resolute steps along the disarmament road and unilaterally proceeded to reducing armaments, troops, and military expenditures. As a matter of fact, on the basis of known data, Romania has the lowest military expenditures both per capita and from the national income percentage viewpoint. We also aim to further reduce military expenditures to less than 3 percent of the national income. In this respect, it is necessary for the current Vienna negotiations between the Warsaw Pact socialist and the NATO countries to conclude with ever better results, as soon as possible.

We have always considered it necessary to abolish concurrently the two military pacts, the Warsaw Pact and NATO, because they have never been in the past, nor are they today, a guarantee of security and peace on our continent. In Europe it is necessary to unflinchingly implement the Helsinki agreements on security, cooperation, and disarmament. We should take steps to ensure that all our continent's states, regardless of social system, will develop broad economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation and to create a united Europe of free and independent nations, which are determined to ensure their progress and well-being, in close cooperation, but without any outside interference.

Romania has advocated and continues to firmly speak out for developing broad cooperation in the Balkans and creating a nuclear- and chemical-free zone in the area, without foreign military bases, a region of equal cooperation among all nations living here.

We have always spoken out against the policy of force and dictate, against resorting to force, and for the peaceful and negotiated solution of various problems and conflicts between states. In this spirit, we welcome the end to the war between Iraq and Iran and we advocate a speedy conclusion of a lasting peace agreement between the two countries. We hail the steps taken to resolve certain contentious problems in various parts of the world, Africa, Central America, and Indochina, and we believe that everything possible should be done to completely renounce all outside interference in the affairs of other nations and achieve lasting peace everywhere, as the only way to ensure the socioeconomic progress of each nation.

We firmly speak out for an international conference on the Middle East's problems and for a lasting and just peace, which can ensure the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and their own independent state and also guarantee the security and independence of all states in that area, including Israel.

We firmly support the solution of Namibia's problems in the spirit of the agreement reached, and speak out for ensuring the full national independence of the Namibian people. Generally speaking, we deem it necessary to unswervingly implement the principles of the UN Charter and other international agreements on observing the national independence and security of all peoples and to promote such a policy in the international relations so to ensure the strong socioeconomic development of countries that have won their independence, this being the only way for progress, stability, and lasting peace in the world.

We firmly advocate eliminating the economic policy of inequality and oppression of other peoples, and we advocate a global solution of underdevelopment problems. We believe that it is necessary to organize an international conference as soon as possible with the participation of both the developing and developed countries. Within this framework, an appropriate accord has to be reached on the problem of the developing countries' foreign debt, and on the adoption of a comprehensive program aimed at eliminating underdevelopment and at achieving a new international economic order.

Only by solving underdevelopment problems and by establishing new economic relations that will favor both the progress of the developing countries and the socioeconomic development of all states in the world will we ensure genuine stability in the world economy and create conditions for broad cooperation among all nations in the world as a decisive factor for a policy of peace and for a better and more just world in which each nation is able to ensure its freedom, well-being, and future.

Bearing in mind the present-day world's serious problems, it is necessary that in solving them, all states—especially small and medium-sized countries, developing, and nonaligned countries—should participate

actively and under conditions of complete equality since they are vitally interested in a new democratic policy in the international activity.

At the same time, it is necessary to enhance to a greater extent the role of the United Nations and its bodies, and of international bodies in the democratic solution, with the participation of all states in solving the complicated problems of the world. Let us see to it that—with the participation of all states and peoples—we safeguard peace and a better and independent life for all nations in the world.

Esteemed Comrades, in the spirit of its internationalist traditions, our party has developed broad relations with all the communist and workers parties, with the socialist and social-democratic parties, with the anti-imperialist national liberation movements, and with other democratic forces. In this spirit, we are firmly determined to do all we can to contribute to the strengthening of solidarity, the development of relations among the communist and workers parties, and to the achievement of a new unity based on equality and respect for the independence of each party. We favor broad cooperation with the socialist and social-democratic parties, and with the other anti-imperialist, democratic, and patriotic forces in order to jointly solve the serious problems concerning humanity.

We believe that the differences of opinion in the way of solving certain problems should not be an obstacle to strengthening solidarity and cooperation. It is necessary to adopt a firm and determined position against any attempts to destabilize and weaken democratic forces and socialism in a country. The policy of cooperation and peace must reject any kind of interference in the domestic affairs of other parties, peoples, and countries. It is the supreme right of each party and each people to formulate its socioeconomic development road independently. Under no circumstances must we forget the teachings of history, which prove that the very lack of unity in the workers movement between progressive forces facilitated the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany and other countries, and led to the outbreak of World War II. In the spirit of high responsibility toward our people, we call on all parties, democratic and progressive forces, and on all peoples to do all they can to ensure a genuinely new policy and thinking in international relations which will rule out any kind of interference in the affairs of other states.

Let us do all we can for the triumph of reason, for a policy of disarmament and peace, for a world without nuclear and chemical weapons, without weapons and wars, and for a world of equal cooperation among all nations in the world. Although world problems are complex and serious, we are firmly convinced that by acting in complete unity and cooperation the progressive and anti-imperialist forces, and peoples everywhere are able to change the trend of events and ensure clear prospects and a democratic and constructive solution to all problems in today's world; they are able to ensure the victory of the new policy of peace and cooperation, of well-being and progress, and of free and independent development for each nation.

Esteemed Comrades, on the 45th anniversary of our great national holiday, let us solemnly pledge to work with great determination to ensure our homeland's constant socioeconomic development and to strengthen the unity of the workers class, of the peasantry, intellectuals, of all working people, and of all our people around our glorious Communist Party, to unflinchingly implement the party program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's firm advancement toward the golden dream of our people and of all peoples—toward communism.

Since I have not said much about the fulfillment of this year's plan, in conclusion, I only want to emphasize that it is necessary to work with great determination to commendably fulfill this year's socioeconomic development plan and the 5-year plan, thus ensuring our country's transition to a new stage of development and the achievement of a new quality of work and life for all our people so as to set a lasting foundation for the Ninth 5-Year Plan and for the development programs up to the year 2000.

Let us welcome the 14th Party Congress with new achievements in the socialist development of our homeland, in raising the level of civilization, well-being, and happiness of our whole nation.

Let us devote all our work energy to the well-being and prosperity of socialist Romania, to strengthening our national independence and sovereignty, and let us reiterate our firm trust in our Communist Party's revolutionary policy, and in the united strength of our people, conscious builders of their own future.

Dear Comrades, I wish all working people and all our nation new and ever greater successes in raising our homeland to new heights of progress and civilization, in our firm advance toward the high pinnacles of communism, and in the assertion of the creative potential and energy of our people. I wish our nation eternal life in complete freedom and independence among the ranks of world nations so that our planet triumphs.

International Economic Relations Growing

AU2608161089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0938 GMT 26 Aug 89

["Amplification of Romania's International Economic Relations"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 26/08/1989—Romania's economic development, the growth of its economic-technological potential, the radical change in the structure of formation of the total social product allowed for a 45 times growth of the foreign trade in the last four decades. The sizeable surplus in the commercial balance in recent years has ensured the paying off of the country's foreign

debt, a reference moment in the evolution of Romania's international economic relations.

In order to emphasize the deep-going changes in the country's export list one should mention that Romania's prewar export was made up of three main groups of goods: plant and animal farm produce, oil products, timber, the share of which varied in 1918-1938 between 92 and 98 percent of the total volume of exports. In 1938, the structure by groups of exportable commodities was the following: oil products (crude included) 43.3 percent, cereals, vegetables, seeds 31.2 percent, wood products 11.4 percent, live animals, animal products and foodstuffs 8.7 percent, other goods 5.4 percent. Such a structure of exports entailed a quite unsatisfactory rate of exchange of 8-10 in one. 95 percent of the industrial equipment was imported, with a relatively small share 9-19 percent of the import between 1929 and 1938.

The socialist economy has radically changed the state of affairs. Whereas in 1950 the share of machinery, equipment and transport means in the volume of exports was of 4.2 percent, in 1965 it jumped to 18.8 percent while in 1985 it was 37.4 percent. Another new group of exportable goods made of chemicals, fertilizers, rubber, which were quite immaterial in the period between the two World Wars. The share of that group within exports as a whole rose from 1.7 percent in 1950 to 6.4 percent in 1965, thanks to the industrialization policy promoted in Romania, the structure of exports has radically changed. Exports are made four fifths of industrial products so that in 1985 more than 99 percent of the exports were processed goods.

Essential for the achievement of high-rate industrialization has been also the revamping of imports. Whereas in 1948 some 25 percent of imports were covered by machinery, equipment and installations, the share of that group gradually grew up to 45 percent in the '70s, while in the '80s it dropped to 25-30 percent, according to the growing potential of meeting the country's own requirements of industrial machinery and equipment from the autochthonous production. The raw materials, fuels, semi-fabs and other materials have been all along the years of socialist construction a very important group of imports, in keeping with the necessity of multilateral development of the economy. The share of that group grew from 50 percent in the '60s to about 80 percent now.

The ratio of turning imported raw materials into processed exportables rose from 1:0.4 in the '50s to about 1:1 in 1965 and to 1:3 now, both because of the country's growing technological potential and of the higher grade of meeting the requirements for raw materials out of internal resources.

In the dynamics of exports one can note an improvement of the qualitative facets of the foreign trade activity, expressed in a larger spectrum of commodities and services supplied, concomitantly with a growing share of products with a high degree of capitalization of national resources and labour. Whereas in 1965 machine-building and chemistry contributed about 25 percent of the total volume of exports, the two branches cover now almost half of the sales to the foreign market.

In the structure of production and then of exports hightech products of peak domains have appeared: digital control machine-tools, robotized flexible systems, motor vehicles, ships, aircraft, computer-and microcomputer-assisted data processing systems, peripheral equipment, electronic measuring and control devices, medical instruments, modern radio and telecommunications equipment including satellite-communication outfit nuclear power equipment, and others.

The development of the national economy, the diversification of industrial production and its higher technological standard have provided for the promotion of a manysided international economic cooperation, which accounts for one third of Romanian current exports, as Romania boasts cooperation ventures with 65 states in almost all geographic areas. Petrochemical and chemical fertilizer complexes, steel works, iron- and-steel combines, technological lines for tractors, rolling stock, cement factories, wood-working combines, transformer stations, electric lines, agroindustrial complexes, and social units are either in operation or under construction in numerous countries in Africa, Western Europe, Asia and America, where extensive land-improvement, damming and irrigation operations are also performed.

Romania takes active part in specialization and cooperation actions with the socialist countries, which accounted for 40 percent of its exchanges with those countries in 1985 machine building and chemistry held a roughly 85 percent weight in their total. Romania pays special attention to technical and economic cooperation, to joint production, marketing and financial-banking companies. At present, there are 37 production and marketing units headquartered abroad, five joint banks, two joint insurance companies, companies for consulting services and the capitalization of investment, as well as joint production companies based in Romania. Besides commodity exports, the export of technical and engineering know-how and licence granting expand, technical and specialty assistance is granted and experts are trained, which all provide for a rise in the complexity of Romanian exports. Romania has intensified its participation in world economic exchanges by expanding and diversifying the geographic area of its foreign trade at present, it boasts economic relations with 150 states, which compares with 98 in 1965. Romania militates for cooperative ties set on lasting political and legal bases by concluding long-term commercial and payments agreements and accords on economic, technical and scientific cooperation.

There are 800 like agreements in force at present. By groups of countries, a priority place in Romania's economic exchanges and cooperation is held by the socialist countries 50 percent of total foreign trade. The relations with the developing countries which account for one

quarter of Romania's foreign trade have acquired numerous forms, of which cooperative links are prominent. As a matter of fact, most of the industrial units Romania built abroad are located in developing countries.

In line with the tendencies towards rendering the commodity and services market global, Romania develops dynamic economic relations with the developed western countries, which account for 25 percent of its foreign trade.

Cable to Ceausescu on Romanian Press Day

AU1808151789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 16 Aug 89 p 5

["Cable Sent to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, by the Participants in a Festive Meeting Devoted to 'Romanian Press Day'"]

[Text] Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: The celebration of "Romanian press day"—marking the 58th anniversary of the publication of SCINTEIA—is an excellent opportunity to express, together with our whole people and on behalf of the communist journalists and all those active in the press and redio television, the warmest feelings of profound love and appreciation, and of boundless esteem and gratitude to you, excellent leader of our socialist nation, ingenious founder of the party's revolutionary strategy, and prominent political personality of today, for the tireless activity you have been carrying out for almost 60 years in the service of achieving the noble ideals of freedom, social justice and well-being, of our homeland's independence and sovereignty, and of Romania's elevation to the highest levels of glory and greatness.

We also express most respectful and warm feelings of regard and recognition to the much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, eminent politician, scientist of world reputation, and front-ranking militant of our party and state, for her contribution of great significance to the formulation and implementation of our country's development programs, to organizing and modernizing activities in all socioeconomic areas, and to the progress of science, technology, education, and national culture.

In an atmosphere of firm and enthusiastic adherence of the whole party and people to the resolution of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee plenum on your reelection to the supreme position of party secretary general at the 14th RCP Congress, our meeting expresses profound sentiments of approval for this historic act by paying fervent homage to you for your bright example of patriotic dedication, for the clearsightedness and communist boldness with which you are leading the destiny of our homeland and people on the bright and renewing road paved by the Ninth RCP Congress.

We assure you that, as the theses for the 14th RCP Congress stipulate, we will work with a great sense of responsibility, so that the press, radio, and television will improve their activity by increasing their contribution to rallying the efforts of the whole nation in unflichingly implementing our socioeconomic programs and in the construction of socialism and communism in Romania.

Like all our people, communist journalists and all those working in the press and radio-television know very well that unity around the party and around you personally is a sure guarantee for unflinchingly implementing the party's program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and our country's advancement toward communism. Therefore, there is no greater duty for us than to firmly promote, through our writings, the great concepts stemming from your revolutionary thought, to ensure Romania's advancement on the road of progress and socialist and communist civilization, and to ensure a climate of peace and understanding among all peoples in the world.

In extending heartfelt wishes for complete health and working energy to you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and to the much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, as well as wishes for great accomplishments in the tireless activity you are carrying out to build the new society and to ensure the happiness and well-being of our people, on this occasion too, we pledge to welcome the great events of this year—the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation of August 1944 and the 14th RCP Congress—with noteworthy results in the press, to commendably fulfill the mission entrusted to us by the party and people, and to respond to your enlightened urges and guidelines in order to continue to perfect the activity of the press and constantly increase its contribution to the triumph of the cause of socialism and communism, and to the constant prosperity of our dear homeland, the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Boehme Attends Anniversary Events in Bucharest

AU2308155689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Aug 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Festive Event on the Occasion of Romania's National Day"]

[Excerpt] Bucharest—Celebrations on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution of the social and national liberation of Romania, which will be celebrated on 23 August, started with a festive event in Bucharest. Several foreign guests participated in this event, including Hans-Joachim Boehme, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and first secretary of the Halle bezirk leadership. [passage omitted]

RCP's Barbulescu Meets USSR's Nikonov

AU1808193389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1939 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow (AGERPRES) 18/8/1989—Warm messages were exchanged between the General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, and the General Secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the CPSU, President of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Mikhail Gorbachev, occasioned by the meeting between Viktor Nikonov, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CC of the CPSU, and Vasile Barbulescu, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

During the interview, information were exchanged regarding the current concerns of the two parties in the socialist construction activity. Reference was made with satisfaction to the good ties of friendship and collaboration on multiple planes between the two parties and peoples, and the wish was expressed to further develop them, in agriculture included, in the spirit of the Romanian-Soviet summit understandings.

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On August 15-18, Vasile Barbulescu, secretary of the CC of the RCP, paid a visit for exchange of experience to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CC of the CPSU. On the occasion he had talks at the CC of the CPSU, at the Krasnodar region party committee and at the Moscow regional CPSU Committee, visited agricultural units and scientific research institutes in Moscow and Krasnodar regions.

Ceausescu Grants Interview to PRAVDA Envoy

AU1808192689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1813 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 18/8/1989—On Friday, 18 August, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received in Snagov A.B. Vofimovich, special envoy of the Soviet newspaper "PRAVDA."

On the occasion, President Nicolae Ceausescu granted an interview for the newspaper "PRAVDA."

Ceausescu Greets PRC's Deng on Birthday

AU2508160589 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Aug 89 p 6

[Telegram by President Nicolae Ceausescu to Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the PRC Central Military Commission, on birthday anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Deng Xiaoping, Chairman of the PRC Central Military Commission,

On your 85th birthday, I extend to you, esteemed Comrade Deng Xiaoping, warm congratulations and best wishes for health and happiness.

I take this opportunity to express the full conviction that the relations between our parties, countries, and peoples will further strengthen and expand, in the spirit of understandings reached, to the benefit of the Romanian and Chinese peoples and in the interest of the cause of peace, independent development, progress, and cooperation throughout the world.

I wholeheartedly wish you long life, strength, and new successes in your activity, as well as ever greater success to the friendly Chinese people in the work to build socialism and ensure the fatherland's comprehensive development.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Hungary's Nyers Cables Thanks to Ceausescu

AU2108141089 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 Aug 89 p 5

[Cable from Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, to "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General"]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP]

Empowered by the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] and by those close to Comrade Janos Kadar, I want to express thanks for the condolatory cable sent on the death of the former MSZMP general secretary and president respectively.

Rezso Nyers, MSZMP chairman

'Arafat Sends Cable of Thanks to Ceausescu

AU2108090989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 Aug 89 p 5

[Cable of thanks from Yasir 'Arafat to "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania"]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

To His Excellency, Comrade and Brother President Nicolae Ceausescu: With special regard I have received your congratulations on my birthday. I want to express heartfelt thanks for the comradely and fraternal feelings expressed in your message and for supporting and being in solidarity with the just cause of Palestine.

On this occasion, please permit me to convey once again heartfelt thanks on my own behalf and on behalf of my brothers, members of the PLO Executive Committee, and on behalf of our Arab people of Palestine, for the firm and principled position always held by the friendly Romanian people, and by their militant Communist Party and government under your wise leadership. These

positions have been expressed for the constant struggle waged by our people and for our heroic people's revolt aimed at putting a halt to Israeli occupation and at achieving our people's freedom and independence and sovereignty on their national soil.

I would also like to express our pride for the relations of friendship and militant solidarity that links our friendly peoples and your distiguished government and the PLO.

I want to assure Your Excellency of our desire and determination to continue, develop, and consolidate these relations of friendship to achieve the common interests of our peoples, including the establishment of a just and lasting peace in our region, namely the establishment of security and world peace.

Permit me to express our profound thanks to Your Excellency and to extend, from the bottom our heart, best wishes for good health, happiness, and complete success.

With all our affection and regard for Your Excellency and your heroic people.

Revolution until victory is won!

Yasir 'Arafat, president of the State of Palestine and chairman of the PLO Executive Committee

Ceausescu Receives Japanese Party Delegation

AU2508193989 Bucahrest AGERPRES in English 1750 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 25/8/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], president of Romania, received on Friday, August 25, in Snagov, the delegation of the Japanese Communist Party [JCP], headed by Mitsuhiro Kaneko, member of the Standing Presidium, head of the secretariat of the CC [Central Committee] of the JCP, who pay a visit to Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP. Nicolae Ceausescu was conveyed from Kenji Miyamoto, chairman of the CC of the JCP, a warm message of salute and cordial congratulations on the 45th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation, and wishes of success in the whole activity. The chief delegate also expressed satisfaction at having attended the festivities marking August 23 and assessed highly the results scored by the Romanian people, under the leadership of the party and of its general secretary in the country's socioeconomic development.

Thanking for the message and for the congratulations, President Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed in turn to Kenji Miyamoto a warm salute and best wishes of good health and personal happiness, of great successes in his activity.

The two parties' current and future preoccupations were featured during the interview. Emphasis was placed on the relations of solidarity, friendship and close collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Japanese Communist Party, on the wish to work for their future expansion, to mutual benefit, in the interests of the cause of peace, understanding and collaboration among nations.

Opinions were exchanged on current aspects of the world political life and the special importance was underscored of the joint declaration which was adopted in April 1987 by the leaders of the two parties. Emphasis was also placed on the correctness of the assessments in that document on the need to strengthen the fight for disarmament, for the creation of a powerful antinuclear and anti-imperialist front, for peace throughout the world.

In consideration of the fact that the international situation continued to be serious and complex, the importance was stressed of rallying the efforts of the communist and worker parties, of the socialist and social democratic parties, of the progressive forces everywhere, of all peoples in the fight against the imperialist and neocolonialist policy of exploitation, domination and oppression, of force and dictate, of interference in domestic affairs.

During the talk, stress was laid on the need for real steps towards disarmament, for the liquidation of nuclear weapons and of all arms of mass destruction, for firm actions to promote a new-type policy of peace, collaboration and respect for national independence, for the negotiated settlement of all interstate litigations, for the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new world economic order, for the ensurance of a climate of detente, security, confidence and broad cooperation.

The importance was emphasized of strengthening the solidarity of communist and worker parties, of achieving a new-type unity, set on equality and respect for independence, for each party's right to self reliantly work out its political line and strategy, according to the specific conditions in each country, without any outside interference.

The interview was attended by Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, and Ion Stoian, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

Also present were Yasuo Ogata, member of the Presidium, head of the International Section of the CC of the Japanese Communist Party, and Sakamoto Hideo, member of the Presidium of the CC of the Japanese Communist Party.

Ceausescu's Message to Afghan President

AU2108102889 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Aug 89 p 5

[Message from President Nicolae Ceausescu to "Comrade Najibullah on Afghanistan's Independence Day"]

[Text] To Comrade Najibullah, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and president of the Republic of Afghanistan, Kabul

The 70th anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Afghanistan is a pleasant opportunity for me to extend warm congratulations to you on behalf of the Romanian people and on my own behalf, as well as best wishes for good health and personal happiness, for peace and the unity and prosperity of the friendly Afghan people.

I want to express the conviction that the relations of friendship and cooperation established between our countries and parties will continue to develop more and more vigorously in the interest of the Romanian and Afghan peoples and of the cause of international peace, understanding, and cooperation.

Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

RCP Message to Guyana National Party Congress

AU1908132089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1048 GMT 19 Aug 89

["Salute Addressed by the RCP to the 8th National People's Congress of Guyana"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Georgetown (AGERPRES) 19/8/1989—In behalf of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], of its General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, the participants in the 8th National People's Congress of Guyana were, all party members and the whole people of Guyana were addressed a warm, friendly salute, together with the expression of the most lasting feelings of esteem and militant solidarity.

The addresss of salute emphasized the fundamental contribution made by the Romanian-Guyana summit meetings to the development of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two parties and countries, to mutual benefit, in the interests of international peace and collaboration.

The Romanian Communist Party is represented there by Ghita Florea, member of the party's CC [Central Committee].

Agriculture Council Endorses Resolution-Appeal

AU1808160589

[Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 15 August carries on pages 1 and 3 a 4,000-word "Resolution-Appeal of the Plenary Session of the National Council of Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture, and Water Management" endorsed by the council's plenary session in Bucharest on 11 August. After listing the agenda points discussed during the plenary session, the document emphasizes that "the participants in the plenum express their feelings of great joy, legitimate patriotic pride, great satisfaction, and full adherence to the Resolution of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee plenum on Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's reelection to the supreme position of party secretary general at the 14th RCP Congress." The resolution-appeal then emphasizes "the decisive role played by our party's and state's beloved leader, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in the tremendous process of the socialist revolution and construction in our homeland." It also "expresses feelings of great appreciation for Comrade Academician Dr Engineer Elena Ceausescu" who is "consistently working" to ensure "the constant progress and increased prestige of Romanian science, education, and culture."

After reviewing the proceedings of the plenary session, the document calls on the working people in agriculture, on mechanizers, cooperative farmers, specialists, animal breeders, village residents, men of science and research workers, workers in the food industry, in forestry, and in water administration to "take firm action in the spirit of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's guidelines and recommendations" to resolutely "fulfill the 1989 plan, to harvest the largest yields ever in our country's history in order to welcome the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation and the 14th RCP Congress with noteworthy results."

The document concludes with the following paragraph in boldface: "Closely united around the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and unflinchingly following his excellent example in work and life and his exemplary revolutionary activity placed in the service of the Romanian people's supreme interests and of the cause of peace and international cooperation, let us do all we can to resolutely fulfill the targets of the scientific-technical and of the new agrarian revolution in order to successfully build the comprehensively developed socialist society and to create conditions for moving to the construction of communism in Romania!"

Leaders' Public Appearances 12-18 August

AU1908170489

[Editorial Report] Bucharest AGERPRES in English reports the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 12-18 August period (time and date of each report given in parentheses):

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu visited Bucharest construction projects on 17 August. (1844 GMT 17 Aug 89)

Stefan Andrei, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee [PEC], and Ioan Toma, first secretary of the Central Committe of the Union of Communist Youth, met with 'Awad M. Khulayfat, Jordanian minister of youth and sports, in Bucharest on 14 August. (1726 GMT 14 Aug 89)

President Nicolae Ceausescu visited southern counties on 16 August. (1752 GMT 16 Aug 89) On the same day, Ceausescu received Mexican journalist Carlos Estrada Lang to whom he granted an interview in Snagov on 16

August. (1809 GMT 16 Aug 89) On 17 August, Nicolae Ceausescu received Yugoslav journalist Miroslav Lazanski of DANAS magazine to whom he granted an interview in Snagov. (1854 GMT 17 Aug 89) On 18 August, Ceausescu granted an interview to PRAVDA envoy in Snagov. (1813 GMT 18 Aug 89) The same day, he chaired a PEC meeting in Bucharest (2019 GMT 18 Aug 89), received the credentials of the new Malaysian ambassador Zainuddin Abdul Rahman in Snagov (1810 GMT 18 Aug 89) and the credentials of the new Portuguese envoy Carlos Macieira Ary dos Santos in Snagov. (1941 GMT 18 Aug 89)

Stefan Andrei, candidate PEC member, met with a British aviation delegation in Bucharest on 16 August. (1821 GMT 19 Aug 89)

Vasile Barbulescu, RCP Central Committee secretary, met with Viktor Nikonov, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, in Moscow on 18 August. (1939 GMT 18 Aug 89)

Lina Ciobanu, PEC member, attended an Indonesian Embassy reception in Bucharest on 17 August. (0927 GMT 17 Aug 89)

Ludovic Fazekas, PEC member, attended an Indian Embassy reception in Bucharest on 15 August. (1700 GMT 15 Aug 89)

Deputy Foreign Minister Constantin Oancea met with SFRY's Foreign Affairs Secretary Budimir Loncar and Deputy Foreign Affairs Secretary Ilija Djukic in Belgrade on 12 August. (1445 GMT 12 Aug 89)

Developments in Poland Viewed as 'Logical'

AU2508123389 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 21 Aug 89 p 1

[Stane Ivanc "Topic of the Day" commentary: "Hope"]

[Text] For half of his life, Tadeusz Mazowiecki fought against the deviations of communism, and now he is the first representative of the opposition in a communist state to become premier. For the Solidarity Trade Union, this is victory, and at the plenum of the Polish Party one could hear the opinion that the communists should withdraw into the role of a "constructive opposition."

This development is surprising for frightened people, who continually ask how long the Poles will follow the strange road from communism to democracy and how long "Moscow will calmly watch this happening." Mazowiecki became premier exactly 21 years after August 1968, when the Warsaw Pact armies invaded Czechoslovakia and strangled the rather timid "Prague Spring." The criticism of Poland is strongest from Prague, Berlin, and Bucharest, the capitals of the most unyielding regimes, the cities where they virtually rejoiced at the recent massacre in Beijing's Tiananmen Square.

At the same time, such a development in Poland is logical, because it could hardly be different. The communist authorities in power are realizing, and partially admitting, that they are in a crisis. Despite all of the ideological purity, they have brought their countries so far that people fear for their bread. Demonstrations, strikes, rationed supplies, hunger, escapes to the rotten West, police terror, and bloody settling of accounts are far from the communist stereotype about "the bright future." Such a future has eluded so many generations that people in many countries have despaired of it and of those who still offer it persistently.

The new Polish government will probably not produce a bright present, but it does inspire hope in the Poles and others.

Sundic Assesses Changes in Eastern Europe

LD2508181289 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Milika Sundic commentary: "The Changes in Poland, Upsets in the USSR, and the Balance of Forces in Europe"]

[Text] The statement by Poland's new noncommunist and anticommunist premier that Poland will remain loyal to its commitments in the Warsaw Pact is small consolation to the doubters, and the big question is to what extent the two important and very influential portfolios in the new government—defense and internal affairs—which have been entrusted to the Communists, will contribute to prevent a break in the existing bonds which link the military organization of the Warsaw Pact. It is certain, however, that the breaking of even one link in that chain could alter the existing block picture of Europe and thereby lead to major disturbances in relations between East and West, in particular the USSR and the United States.

The Russians did not, nor could they, interfere in events in Poland because they are themselves faced with disturbances whose final outcome cannot be foreseen. However, in Moscow there are certainly many who have a ready cure for Poland and other cases. It is not a question simply of fear of the break-up of the Warsaw Pact, or the USSR, but of all that could happen within the USSR itself and in the field of relations between the two blocs—the West which has achieved its greatest breakthrough in ideological terms toward the East, and the East which is being fundamentally shaken. Will this not upset the existing balance, and will this not bring into question the outcome of World War II?

What the West has perhaps gained in the ideological, political, and military sphere, which has been achieved in peace and not in a cold war confrontation, could rapidly evaporate if the possible consequences of possible disruption of the balance on the old continent are not recognized in time. Until yesterday, the rule existed—and was more or less observed by all—that any disturbance in the balance of forces in Europe would mean a return to the cold war with unforeseeable consequences. This does not appear to be the case at present perhaps, but it does not mean that the fears have been removed, particularly since in the West, and still less in the United States, no one is giving any thought to some kind of relaxation of NATO's alliance restraints.

The proces of democratization, not to say de-Stalinization, in Eastern Europe was inevitable. However, these processes, which have taken a hold of almost all Eastern Europe, do not have a strong foundation, particularly not economic, and there is a danger that all that has been begun with perestroyka in the USSR and reforms in Poland and Hungary may be transformed into the opposite. The West should perhaps not be blamed for encouraging over the years certain processes in the East, but the Chinese example serves as a warning that the greatest caution is needed. If the army and the militias remain the only guardians of socialism, a part of Eastern Europe would end up where China has, and that would be catastrophic both for socialism and for peace in the world. The West could contribute toward avoiding this and it will be making a major and unforgiveable mistake if it does not do so. The arrival of noncommunists at the head of the Polish Government is no guarantee that democracy will prevail in Poland, and even less that only noncommunists are destined to pull Poland out of its social and economic crisis. The change of government in Poland is only the beginning of a denouement, but this will not last long if nothing is changed in interbloc relations and within the blocs themselves, both the East and the West.

Press Comments 'Favorably' on Polish Events

LD2508162889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1352 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, August 25 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav press continues to comment favourably on the events in Poland, "the first socialist country whose government will not be headed by Communists." Papers also note a changed climate in Yugoslavia and say that "only yesterday," the "breakthrough" in Poland would have been called a "shocking expression of a counterrevolution."

Commenting on the headline The "Poles Are Writing a New History" which appeared in a Yugoslav newspaper, Jurij Gustincic writes in the Split daily SLOBODNA DALMACIJA that "we have only of late learned to call the introduction of parliamentary democracy in a country of socialist name, which led to the majority voting down its ruling Communist Party; a new page in history written by the people."

The commentator says that there are no "good or weak, people's or non-people's democracies." The sooner Yugoslavia learns this, the easier it will start moving ahead.

The Belgrade weekly NIN says that the "series of shocks and unexpected turns in Poland are the workings of the party apparatus," its "illusions based on the unlimited monopoly of bureacratic power" and on "igniting the changes in social and political consciousness the Poles."

The new distribution of roles in the coalition corresponds to the actual power relationship in Polish society but requires a new political agreement on the nature of future systemic relations, writes NIN.

The daily POLITIK EKSPRES says that to take over the helm "at the height of social, political, and above all, economic troubles is a praiseworthy undertaking." It notes, however, that Solidarity "is now taking before it own people the most difficult of tests since it came into being."

The Belgrade paper believes that the new Polish Government will probably be monitored from abroad even more closely, i.e., "that the socialist community countries will keep developments in Poland under a watchful eye."

NIN assesses, (?however), that "to Gorbachev, Poland is an important testing ground whose positive experiences, adapted to Soviet conditions, can be verified in the Soviet Union."

Farmers' Protest Meeting Still 'Uncertain'

AU2808142289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] The so-called farmers' meeting should begin in front of the SFRY Assembly in less than an hour. Here is a report from Milorad Jovic:

[Jovic] Rain does not bother us. It is useful for our crops. We are only bothered by the Federal Executive Council's sluggishness in solving the problem of agriculture. This was stated by a group of farmers in Pionirski Park. At present there are 300 of them at the most. The deputy secretary of the SFRY Assembly, Zdravko Sevo, informed the representatives of the organizational committee that the Assembly had not been officially informed about the meeting and that it cannot meet any demand for technical preparations for the meeting.

The representatives of the organizational committee refused to accept the proposal to hold their meeting in the Palace of the Federation in Novi Belgrade and are now demanding a sound system.

Most farmers have come from Gardinovci, [name indistinct], and Crvenka. They came in five buses. There are also some farmers from Obrenovac, Plemetina, Banja Luka, and Bosanska Gradiska. They said that they will stay in front of the Assembly until their demands have been met.

One can see state and party flags and slogans which point out to the farmers' difficult material position. Perhaps the most (?useful) message is: We are working like the Japanese but living like the Indians. There are also several workers from the sugar factory from Zabalj who carry a banner supporting farmers' demands.

Several telegrams of support have also arrived. They were mainly sent by the Socialist Alliance of Working People and Youth Organizations from Vojvodina.

Whether the farmers' meeting will be held in front of the SFRY Assembly, and how, is still uncertain.

Drnovsek Visits Nonaligned Summit Facilities

AU2508181589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Janez Drnovsek said during his visit to the facilities prepared in Belgrade for the ninth summit of the Nonaligned Movement that the SFRY Presidency is sure that Belgrade will carry through all the obligations that it has undertaken, regardless of the deadlines.

[Begin Drnovsek recording] I am certain that during the conference we can count on the maximum cooperation and attention of all Belgrade citizens so that the conference will be held at the necessary level and all the participants will feel comfortable in the city of Belgrade. I am certain that this will happen and that their stay will be both pleasant and secure, as it has been on all previous occasions. [end recording]

Accompanied by the Belgrade leadership, Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, visited several facilities which are intended for use during the ninth summit of the Nonaligned Movement.

Speaks on Summit Importance

AU2508195489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] The SFRY Presidency is sure that Belgrade will successfully fulfill all its obligations concerning the organization of the ninth summit of the Nonaligned Movement despite the tight deadlines. This was said by Dr Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, in talks with the leadership of the capital city. Aleksandar Bakocevic, president of the Belgrade Assembly, told President Drnovsek that all the work was completed successfully.

President Drnovsek also spoke about the significance of the ninth conference of nonaligned countries. We have singled out this part for this evening's news.

[Begin Drnovsek recording] It is obvious that the attention of the international public is increasingly fixed and concentrated on the summit of nonaligned countries. People are anxiously waiting to see what kind of new impulses this conference of nonaligned countries will give not just to this movement but to all international political processes and relations. Therefore, I think that we are undoubtedly talking about a first-class international political event and that this summit will in this sense be singled out in history in the same way that the first summit of nonaligned countries in Belgrade was.

We have also thoroughly prepared this conference and it will take place with a new approach. We think that this approach will be quite specific and quite realistic and that the nonaligned countries will be organized in such a way that their meetings will not be of a solely declarative nature, but that the conference will give a stimulus to concrete political activities which will contribute to solving specific political hotspots in the world and also give an important impulse to changes in world relations. In this context, we think that the conference will affirm nonalignment as an important factor in world peace and the relaxation of tensions, and in changing economic relations in the world. [end recording]

Leaders Congratulate Romanians on National Day

Drnovsek Greets Ceausescu

AU2508194189 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 89 p 2

[TANJUG report]

[Text] On the occasion of the National Day of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, has sent his congratulations to Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu.

Pancevski Cables Ceausescu

AU2508194289 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 89 p 2

[TANJUG report]

[Text] Milan Pancevski, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, has sent Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, a telegram with cordial congratulations on the occasion of the Romanian National Day.

Markovic Greets Dascalescu

AU2508194389 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 89 p 2

[TANJUG report]

[Text] On the occasion of the National Day of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, has sent Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, a telegram with cordial congratulations and wishes for the prosperity of the friendly people of this neighborly socialist country.

Further Reaction on Muzevic, Police Beating Case

Slovene Statement Criticized

AU2508204989 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 89 p 12

[B. Ognjenovic commentary: "The Law Applies to Everyone"]

[Text] Without wanting to comment on the tone of the statement by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, the explicitness of parts of this statement seems to be unusual, to say the least; they contain political criticisms at the expense of a community which yet again does not find it necessary to remind others of all the qualities for which it is well-known.

The Presidium of Slovene Communists did not consider it necessary or appropriate for the other side to be heard so, in "the quicker the better" manner, it gave the public the impression that militia patrols cruise Belgrade looking for people who do not have the same political views.

It is also extremely improper to call into account the leadership of the Serbian Communists concerning a street disagreement which took place between the public order organs and a citizen without documentation and, moreover, a driver who had committed a traffic violation and ignored the calls of a militia traffic patrol.

A community which so emphatically insists on demanding that the rule of law be affirmed is now

excitedly and convulsively asking the Serbian Communist leadership to condemn in advance the intervention of the state organs, without considering even the most elementary powers or the practice which the Serbian League of Communists itself consistently advocates. Thus the impression is nevertheless imposed—although not very skilfully—that the interest of "the man from our community" is more important to the Slovene Communist leadership than even their own principles if they are at all important.

Belgrade is hurriedly preparing itself to be ready to greet the beginning of the nonaligned summit—hurriedly but also carefully. A part of this atmosphere is intensified, but also continually routine, traffic checks whose demands Boris Muzevic, the driver behind the wheel of the official car of the Central Committee League of Communists of Yugoslavia, did not—illegally—want to meet. The appropriate organs even claim that he was arrogant, but this is not the most important thing. The Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs, however, expressly states that, in spite of everything, Boris Muzevic's integrity was not in any way brought into question.

Finally, too much has happened recently for us to delve into the possible coincidences. The method which the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Slovene League of Communists chose of compiling the kind of statement that it compiled is a new illustration of continued attacks on Belgrade. We are virtually talking about a campaign which was given one of its strongest stimulae by Franc Setinc with his non-specific statements announcing that he did not feel safe in Belgrade.

The fact is that the daily experience of Belgrade people and their numerous visitors undoubtedly contradicts these dishonorable statements. However, to judge by this statement, facts are not the most important things for the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Slovene League of Communists.

DELO Comments on Case

AU2608151389 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 23 Aug 89 p 1

[Vlado Slamberger "Topic of the Day" commentary: "The Muzevic Affair"]

[Text] No matter what, Boris Muzevic, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, is assured his place in the history of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia or the League of Communists of Yugoslavia—either as the first highest party official to be beaten up while in office by Serbian policemen or policemen in general (supporting Muzevic's truth are his statement, a medical certificate on bruises from blows, and the trust of the Slovene political leadership in its representative); or (according to the statement of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Serbia) as the first highest party official caught committing grave traffic offenses, who then tried falsely to accuse the policemen—who according to the official statement dealt with him patiently and in a manner above reproach—of maltreating him.

Everybody maintains his own truth, and probably much water will flow under the bridge before we learn which truth is the correct one. If we leave all possible stupidities by the driver and the police aside, it is a veritable disaster that a traffic offense has turned into a political affair whose consequences can hardly be foreseen.

We certainly agree with those who say that the law applies to everyone, even the members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium, if we really want to have a law-governed state (of course without the misuse of rubber truncheons, electric cattle prods, and other police equipment). However, one should not forget that Franc Setinc did not feel well in Belgrade; that Joze Smole was not guaranteed safe passage from his "Slovene base" to the session of the federal Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia Presidium; and that the delegates of the SFRY Assembly adopted special measures in Kosovo under the pressure of an irate mob gathered in front of the stone horses outside the SFRY Assembly building.

In the Japanese movie, "Rashomon," we saw several truths about the same story. In the Belgrade version of the Muzevic Affair, we may reject two even now: the first "truth" that links the statement by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia with the Cankar Hall gathering; and the second alleging a continuation of the attacks from Slovenia against Belgrade. Time will show the rest.

Press Commentaries Reviewed

AU2508205489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Aug 89 p 3

[R.N. article: "Banal Cause—Dangerous Consequences"]

[Excerpts] Most Yugoslav newspapers have carried commentaries on the "Muzevic case," along with reports on it. [passage omitted]

A Banana Skin

The Zagreb VECERNJI LIST first of all underlines the fact that the first news of the event came from the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia because for 4 days there had been no official statement from the responsible organs, and the Serbian Secretariat for Internal Affairs reacted only after the statement from Ljubljana. "This delay cannot be justified in any way, but the Serbian Secretariat for Internal Affairs did not even attempt to do this in the statement it made the night before last. The least contentious thing in the whole event is whether the traffic militia should have stopped Boris Muzevic because he was driving too fast and do their job in the

way that they would have dealt with any 'ordinary' citizen who had committed a traffic violation. It is indisputable that the law applies to everyone, but the statement by the Serbian Secretariat for Internal Affairs did not explain the cause of the scratch under Muzevic's left eye, his bloody contusion, hematoma and several bruises on his back." It is concluded, among other things, that the agitated political atmosphere in the country has been escalating for almost 2 years and it has been accompanied by naked nationalist passions which are brought to boiling point by every specific interethnic conflict, especially at such a "high level." [passage omitted]

EKSPRES POLITIKA ("Party and Traffic") described the statement by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia as "surprising," "unprecedented," and "abominable." It asks on the basis of what facts this was written and with what aim, and says: "The answer to this question is not difficult to find when one considers everything that has been published in some of the media in Slovenia in recent months, statements by some senior officials of this republic, the meeting in Cankar Hall... It seems that it is particularly important to some people that they say this (that Belgrade is not a safe city) immediately prior to the nonaligned summit. This is probably because they believe that they do not belong to a nonaligned socialist Yugoslavia because they have virtually left it. It is certainly essential to them that an atmosphere of uncertainty be created in Belgrade prior to the extraordinary 14th congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia because a resolution of the countries problems does not suit them," states EKSPRES POLITIKA.

Pouring on Oil

The Novi Sad DNEVNIK ("Privileges and Bruises") says that the writers of the Slovene statement "probably take it for granted that Muzevic is innocent purely because he occupies a senior party position," while the statement by the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Serbia contains no outpouring of emotion nor makes advance judgments, and that the writers of the statement by the Presidium of the Slovene Communist party seem "to have forgotten all the times they have advocated the rule of law." [passage omitted]

Broken Down Systems

Yesterday's VECERNJE NOVOSTI in the commentary "Pouring On Oil" says that it is unbelievable that the Presidium of the Slovene Central Committee decided to inform the public through statements to TANJUG but it seems that it was only asking for the real truth about "the Muzevic case." "Have all the systems of communication between Ljubljana and Belgrade, the Central Committee of the Slovene League of Communists and the Central Committee of the Serbian League of Communists, and between the Slovene Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the Serbian Secretariat for Internal Affairs really broken down to such an extent that in Ljubljana not even the Presidium of the Slovene party could obtain the real truth or any news, but had to turn to the newspapers?" This newspaper also asks why at the very beginning of its statement, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Slovene League of Communists insisted on the fact that Belgrade is the host of the nonaligned summit and asks the question of what will happen if what is claimed in the statement by the Serbian Secretariat for Internal Affairs is true, "that it was in fact a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia who was driving like a mad man through a built-up area, who mistreated the authorized workers of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs, and who was not in possession of any documents, apart from the one showing that he is a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia." Today's VECERNJE NOVOSTI was the only newspaper to publish the report (citing the Serbian Secretariat for Internal Affairs) that Boris Muzevic was not driving under the influence of alcohol. [passage omitted]

FEC's Pregl Comments on Economy's Performance

AU2408183089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19-20 Aug 89 p 11

[B. Mirjanic and B. Sarovic report: "If There Was Only No Inflation"]

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Aug—The measures which the Federal Executive Council has adopted, or plans to adopt or suggest in the sphere of agriculture, have never been so comprehensive, diverse, and important for changing the essence of relations in conducting business in this important economic sphere, and for changing society's attitudes toward agriculture. In fact everything announced as the stands of the Federal Secretariat for Agriculture—by Stevo Mirjanic in his public statements of the last few weeks of his intensified activities—have become the stands of the government.

Zivko Pregl, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, and Stevo Mirjanic, federal secretary for Agriculture, today talked to journalists about the current economic policy and measures being prepared for agriculture. According to the vice president of the Federal Executive Council, if it had not been for the adverse effects of inflation and price increases, the current economic situation would not be as bad as it seems, or more accurately, as bad as we feel it. Pregl presented a series of data which indicate positive trends in the economy, but prices and inflation remain the number one problem.

The prices of some 85 percent of goods are being set free to respond to market conditions. In the first 6 months of this year, they rose 316.4 percent. The prices of goods set according to common criteria (these are the prices of energy, rail, and post office services) rose at the annual rate of 426.6 percent. The prices of public utility services "jumped" by 385.6 percent. The joint and general

expenditure rose by 464.7 percent. The increase was particularly noticeable in the republics and provinces.

The federal government is preparing a number of additional measures which will significantly influence economic trends. Pregl announced measures concerning relations with other countries. The Federal Executive Council has already established its stands in connection with the changes to the Law on Foreign Exchange Dealings and forwarded them to the assembly for delegates' review after their summer vacation. We have also prepared additional measures for the credit sector, that is to say for solving financial losses. They will be adopted at the next session of the Federal Executive Council at the end of this month. The vice president of the Federal Executive Council particularly stressed that prices and personal incomes will not be frozen at all, something that has recently been spoken about as if it was already a "fait accompli."

Despite the fact that the Federal Executive Council hurt the farmers with its latest intervention of goods from the commodity reserves, it will continue to intervene in the market with goods from state reserves and further liberalize the import of goods, particularly consumer goods, Pregl said.

According to Mirjanic, the essence of all the measures proposed in the agricultural sphere is to make the production in this sector of the economy easier, and as much as the system presently permits, to equalize the conditions for conducting business in the private and social sector. In brief, the Federal Executive Council concluded the following:

—to harmonize and publish the guaranteed prices for animal products by 1 September—as well as to harmonize them on a monthly basis—and to set the guaranteed price for wheat and rape by 15 September.
—to propose to the board of governors of the National Bank of Yugoslavia not to determine the interest rates of the central and the republican and provincial national banks on the monthly basis, but at the end of each agricultural production cycle.
—to ensure through various means that the interest rate on money borrowed from the primary money issue amounts to one third of the discounted rate.
—to propose to the board of governors an increase in the rediscount rate for later crops from 56 to 60 percent, and for harvesting wheat and rapeseed from 40 to 60 percent.
—to examine the possibilities of obtaining funds which would induce the export of agricultural products, and to free the imports of ingredients needed for animal food from import duties, levies, and taxes. According to assessments, the effect of this measure for 1 year would be 380 billion dinars.
—to ask the National Bank of Yugoslavia not to charge interest on funds borrowed from the primary issue; to increase subsidies for fertilizers and seeds next time the budget is readjusted.
—to recommend to the consortium of Yugoslav banks to review the possibility of reducing interest rates on advances in agriculture and the food industry.
—that the taxation policy should contain inducements and reliefs needed to speed up agricultural production.

Speaking about later crops, Mirjanic said that in relation to last year (when the yield was particularly bad), he expected a 50 percent increase in the production of corn, a 40 percent increase in sugar beets, a 14 percent increase in sunflowers, and over a 10 percent increase in soya. The production of rice will be smaller by 40 percent and tobacco by 12 percent.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Entrepreneurs From Village

In the future, farmers will be able to set up private firms regardless of whether they are exclusively engaged in agricultural production or in something else.

The provisions of the Law on Foreign Exchange Dealings and the Law on Export Businesses will enable individual farmers to export foodstuffs and to import the necessary goods for their production. They will also give them access to the foreign exchange market. Farmers will in fact be able, without any restrictions and prejudices, to engage in all kinds of activities not explicitly prohibited.

The changes to the Law on Taxation will exempt farmers from taxes on building materials (for farm buildings) and the machines for agricultural production. Also envisaged is the introduction of loans for which property and real estate can be used as collateral. It is also planned to provide social and pension insurance for those working in the social sector. The regulations concerning registration with courts will also be changed. Finally, foreign capital could be "sown" in any agricultural estate.

The Farmers' Voice Has Been Heard

The latest measures concerning agriculture adopted by the Federal Executive Council are not a result of cabinet pondering, but incorporate suggestions and proposals made by agricultural producers with whom extensive talks have recently been held. According to Stevo Mirjanic, the federal government is drafting long-term measures of agricultural policies which will be presented to the assembly for a discussion this fall.

In addition to specific proposals, the Federal Executive Council has initiated many important questions which the community has unsuccessfully been trying to solve throughout the whole of the post war period. This refers to the maximum land holding, the right to first refusal, land protection, and the question of inheritance. The republics and provinces are recommended to work out incentives and reliefs needed to speed up and increase agricultural production.

Guaranteed Prices

At its session yesterday, the Federal Executive Council set the guaranteed prices for autumn crops. The basis for setting prices was the guaranteed wheat price plus the cost of production and interest rate repayment. For instance, the guaranteed price of one kilogram of corn will be 4,300 dinars; of rice 11,330 dinars; soya and sunflower 11,950 dinars; cotton 23,520 dinars; and 57,360 for tobacco.

According to Mirjanic, this way the adequate price parities of agricultural products have been retained. The decision will become effective as of 1 September. The prices are, however, not final, but will depend on the rise in prices of other goods and services.

Foreign Exchange Refreshment

Including July this year, the total exports of goods rose by 5.2 percent, of which exports to the convertible currency markets rose by 2 percent. The rise of exports of Yugoslav goods continued in August.

Imports rose 9.2 percent over the same period last year. We imported 16.2 percent more goods from the convertible currency markets, while imports from the clearing account countries have in fact fallen.

The country's foreign exchange reserves increased and now stand at $4.7 billion, while the foreign debt was reduced by $300 million.

After a long period of time, personal incomes have started to rise in real terms, and, according to Zivko Pregl, are rising faster than inflation in nominal terms. In March they were 12 percent, in April 11 percent, and in May 22 percent higher in real terms relative to the previous month. Pregl concluded that in view of this, the material position of the employed is not deteriorating.

Speaks on Inflation Policy

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[Report on speech by Zivko Pregl, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, at the opening of the Agricultural Fair in Gornja Radgona on 19 August]

[Text] Zivko Pregl, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, at the opening of the Agricultural Fair in Gornja Radgona: "Many people think that the Federal Executive Council, which bears an important share of the tasks in directing the economic policy, underestimates inflation. This is far from the truth. The Federal Executive Council considers inflation clearly as a problem, and it is aware of its burden that depresses the working people's standard of living and that increasingly confuses the criteria for economic performance. What causes the impression that the Federal Executive Council does not know what to do about inflation, and that is maliciously inflated by many people, is a consequence of the fact that we have decided to solve the problem definitively. This means that we do not adopt any temporary solutions with imaginary results, which would then soon deteriorate into increasing problems. We want to adopt decisions in the proper sequence, so that we will really be able to eliminate inflation. Therefore at the beginning of our work 5 months ago we embarked on liberalizing imports and prices, deregulating the economy, and reducing its taxation burden. We are now preparing for other measures that—together with the political economic moves that have been adopted and the changes in the economic system—will enable inflation to begin declining gradually and will make it possible for us essentially to reduce it in the near future. Of course we do not think of any freeze of prices or personal incomes at all.

"In changing the economic system, the Federal Executive Council proceeded from the premise that an equal position of social, private, cooperative, and mixed ownership should be introduced in agriculture, too. A bill on foreign trade and a bill on foreign exchange dealings are in the mill. According to our proposal, they envisage that agriculture, regardless of the ownership structure, should export and import for its own needs. Even private farms will have an access to the foreign exchange market if they register as juristic persons."